UNITAS

Ecclesia "Clamat ad omnes ut revertantur et inserantur."—St. Augustine

INTERNATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW

Organ of the Unitas Association English Language Edition

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SIMPLE REFLECTIONS ON « THOU ART PETER »

(Matt. XVI, 18)

Everything has been said about this celebrated text *Tu es Petrus*— then why turn again to that famous occasion when the government of the Church was established till the end of time? The Divine Master on that day conferred the title-deeds of that government most categorically, but their terms were so extraordinary that many Christians hesitate at times, alas, to accept them, though to us Catholics they appear perfectly clear. Here indeed is the crucial matter which prolongs a disastrous division between ourselves and our separated brethren, who regard themselves as truly Orthodox or sincerely Protestant. Fearful errors, even in Christian history, and pride, national or personal, often play a disastrous part in these unhappy conflicts.

So let us again consider this text, and try to see things more clearly.

Towards the end of the Gospel preaching the Master led the Twelve to the outskirts of Caesarea Philippi. He asked the question: « But who do you say that I am? » And Peter answered in his resounding confession, « Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God ».

But this reply seems the more extraordinary because of the extent of the powers which the Son of God confers on the chief of the Apostles who was destined to be His deputy, His Vicar to the faithful.

> « And I say to thee, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever thou shalt loose upon earth shall be loosed in heaven ». (Mat. XVI, 18).

A Personal Government

These words of our Saviour, so astonishing and yet so simple, were addressed directly to Peter, and it seems difficult to dispute them or explain them away. They constitute an entirely personal mission to the Supreme Head, for a universal Church, without any question of synodic government or fantastic autonomies. Certainly, Jesus could have devised an alternative form of government. But in fact He chose the system of a single authority concentrated in the person of Peter and of his regular successors.

The coming together of the faithful designated by the word *Church* is compared to a unique building which must be founded on solid rock, which the powers of hell shall not be able to overthrow. And this indestructible foundation is the person of Peter, who thus becomes the unshakable base on which the whole Christian fortress must rest, built on thiis. *Super hanc petram.*

This delivery of the keys of the Holy City indicates the totality of power with which the Master invests His faithful deputy before his departure. He it is « he who openeth and no one shall shut, and shutteth and no one openeth ». (Apoc. III, 7). Peter, armed with the keys, is the true Steward of God's household, charged with the conduct of its affairs.

The rabbinical metaphor of binding and loosing is still more explicit in indicating the sovereign jurisdiction, guaranteed by God, which Peter wields without any possible higher appeal in his conduct of the government of souls.

Moreover, two further prerogatives were conferred on Peter by Jesus on two other occasions.

After the Last Supper, at the very moment when the Master foretold the Apostle's unhappy denial of Him, He added « and when once thou hast turned again, do thou strengthen thy brethren ». He has just guaranteed his infallibility. « But I have prayed for thee that thy faith may not fail ». (Luke, XXII, 32).

After His resurrection Jesus the Good Shepherd declares three times to Peter that he is indeed the supreme shepherd on earth, and He confides to him all the holy flock, sheep and lambs. (John XXI, 15-18).

Here indeed is an impressive summary of the sovereign powers conferred on one single man.

Personal Government, but of Necessity Renewed and Continued

These various formularies which confer such extraordinary powers expressly on Peter, an investiture destined to prolong itself as long as the Church shall last, could not apply to a single individual, to a solitary Galilean fisherman, even though he had become the head of the Apostles.

In fact, these supernatural prerogatives, though very seldom exercised, will be found during the life of the first Supreme Shepherd, of the first Pope of the Church. Peter scarcely had time to see the first stones rising here and there from the ground which were very slowly to form the great structure of the Universal Church. He stayed at Jerusalem and at Antioch at least until he was fifty. He is known from the very beginning as the head of

these growing Christian communities, but he did not wield that direct responsibility in any very special way. Others played a part which seemed as important as his own. James, the Lord's brother, ruled as master over the community at Jerusalem; John the Beloved Disciple, the most authoritative of the Lord's witnesses, remained a long time among the faithful. Paul, the Apostle to the Gentiles, brought more Christian communities into being than anyone else, all along the highways of the Roman Empire. At last Peter arrived in Rome at a latish date from Syria, passing from one little community to another, through Asia and Illyria, but that was for a rather short time. We do not even know precisely when he disappeared from this little Christian world which was still scarcely visible.

If then that Apostle had only a purely personal authority for the direct foundation of this embryonic Church, we cannot see why Our Lord should have taken such trouble to arm him, and him alone, with those high superhuman titles which we have noted; the foundation of a great structure which would be built very slowly; the official ruler who has the keys of the kingdom in his hand; the sovereign judge who pronounces sentence with the seal of Heaven upon it, from which there is no appeal; the infallible doctor; the universal shepherd.

No! That most solemn and specific investiture by which Our Lord conferred on Peter the supreme headship of His Church (necessarily adding thereto the permanent continuation of these powers in the legitimate successors to this universal heritage) is to be understood as the clear constitution of the Church's government. In the Holy Gospels, usually so reticent in details, we find nothing more certain nor more explicit than this fundamental institution. Now, this charter would indeed be annulled if we choose to contest the prerogatives conferred on Peter, or limit them to his person alone.

A Striking Dynasty

Historically, Peter managed to carry on humbly between the hostile Jews of Jerusalem and the threatening Emperors of Rome for little more than thirty years. But it was in fact the death of the Apostle that truly launched his reign.

At Rome Peter, crucified like his Master at Jerusalem, left a line of successors behind him near his tomb who are his legitimate heirs, men endowed with those august prerogatives which the Lord conferred on His first Apostle, Simon called Peter. Each of these men becomes in turn the Supreme Head, the support of the

Christian people, the sovereign arbiter of conscience, the Universal Shepherd of believers. Moreover, for three hundred years every one of them as heads of the Christian community met martyrdom before the catacombs were exchanged for the occupation of Caesar's throne. It is indeed a foundation to be reckoned with, a seed well watered.

Here then is the only way of connecting the divine institution with the prolonged history of a Church which for nineteen centuries has had so often to face unflinchingly the forces of evil unleashed from without and from within. But for this strict interpretation the Church would for practical purposes have been left throughout the centuries without a true foundation, without a truly responsible head, and also without any guarantee against the assaults of the evil one, for all these things are directly found in the words of Our Lord. And what single Church other than the Roman dares attribute to itself these prerogatives and this guarantee?

Near the venerable tomb of Simon Peter, over which the dome of Michelangelo rises to the skies as a symbol of faithful souls, we can count 254 successors who make up the dynasty of Roman Pontiffs; we may compare this unshaken dynasty to all the monarchies and all the governments which have crumbled around it; we may count even the eleven centuries of the brilliant Byzantine Empire, during which the Popes had to live a confined existence in the old Rome, ceaselessly exposed to the factions of rival families, while at the Second Rome on the Golden Horn a powerful Patriarch, set up somewhat as a rival, made himself principally the scintillating almoner of an autocratic Basileus. But he did not descend from Peter.

In fact, the extraordinary power so categorically given to Simon Peter has never wavered, not even at certain deplorable periods of intrigue and schism when all seemed lost, except the faith guaranteed to the lawful Pope

Nothing can shake this sacred power, and again today in the face of formidable convulsions which are accompanying the birth of a new world, men turn their eyes towards Rome, listening with respect to the clear words which Pius XII unceasingly utters. Never has the prestige of the Papacy stood higher. For the past hundred years from Pius IX to Pius XII the successors of Peter have shone with an outstanding brilliance which seems to have eclipsed the powers of earth—kings, presidents, dictators of all kinds, even the would-be dictators of souls.

Uniquely as throughout the centuries, after an experience of nineteen hundred years, there still resounds the cry « Thou art Peter ... »

GERVAIS QUENARD, A. A.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES

The multiplicity and endless disintegration of the Protestant Churches form a rather over-facile commonplace of Catholic apologetics. To a certain extent it is incontestably true, but it is also partly illusory. When we compare the Catholic Church with Protestant bodies we are in fact always tending to forget that the Protestant Churches are not simply modifications of the Catholic Church, but are quite different sociological types. It is essential to the Catholic concept of the Church that its unity must be affirmed, not only in doctrinal and religious practice, but also in a strongly centralized hierarchical organization. That which distinguishes the Protestant Churches as Protestant, on the other hand, is precisely their radical rejection, in varying degree, of this last necessity. Even the most traditional of Lutherans, who among Protestants are the nearest to the Catholic Church, believe that the unity of the Church depends upon two factors only — unity in the same faith everywhere faithfully proclaimed, and unity in the same sacraments everywhere rightly administered. Protestant ecclesiastical organizations, therefore, though separated by language, by geography and by history, and sometimes bearing totally different official titles, naturally recognise each other on this basis as substantially one, and in consequence they practise complete intercommunion.

Once this fact is understood, it may be seen that the Churches stemming from the Reformation, apart from the Anglican Church which is distinct, make up about four or five major groupings only, constantly aware of their own intrinsic unity, which are in fact becoming more and more closely linked together. These groups are the Lutheran, the Reformed (or Presbyterian), the Congregationalists, and the Methodists (or Wesleyans), to which must be added certain bodies of a sectarian type which in fact do not fall into recognised Protestant groups, except perhaps an extreme form of Congregationalism.

* * *

Lutherans are particularly numerous in certain parts of Germany and in practically the whole of the Scandinavian countries; they have pushed out strong branches in the United States,

and in mission countries like India. They have remained very close to Catholicism in their liturgy and in their sacraments (both in practice and in doctrine); they have even maintained an episcopate in places where the Lutheran Reformation triumphed easily, such as Scandinavia, and Sweden in particular. In Germany (and even more in France, where they are found in fairly considerable numbers in the East and in the region around Paris) they have been more strongly under the influence of the Reformers. But a reaction has set in since the nineteenth century (against the attempts of th Kings of Prussia to absorb them into the Reformed Church), and this has resulted in an increasingly traditional orientation in more and more of the distinctive elements of Lutheranism. However, the initial weakness of Lutheranism in its ecclesiastical organization remains in its original close connection with the State. In Germany itself where the bishops did not follow him, Luther, in order to organize his flock into a Church, fell back on an expedient of medieval theory against which the Gregorian reform had so energetically struggled. That is to say, he recognized in the lay sovereign the powers of a *summus episcopus,* and he handed over to him the absolute power of legislation over the Church and the appointment of its ministry. With the development of States in a more and more secular or neutral direction, therefore, most of the Lutheran Churches found themselves in the uncomfortable position of being tortoises deprived of their shells. But the result has been the gradually-assumed pre-eminence of those Lutheran Churches which preserved their traditional hierarchical structure to a greater or less degree, and the setting up of a Lutheran World Federation under their auspices and those of their American offspring. Within a few years this has become a powerful factor, not only in regrouping, but also in co-operation in an effort to return to the common origins of the majority of Lutherans.

The Reformed or Presbyterian Churches are generally termed Calvinist by Catholic authors. This usage seems absurd, and is particularly irritating to their members, who it must be admitted have some justification in this. Calvin indeed certainly exerted a powerful influence in the formation and organization of these Churches, but scarcely any of them have ever been bound down to particular Calvinist doctrines (for instance concerning predestination or the sacraments). To call them Calvinist is almost as unjustifiable as to call the Catholic Church the « Scotist Church » because it successfully includes disciples of Duns Scotus. The true mark of Calvin on these Churches is in their government, which is indicated by the word « Presbyterian ». Calvin in fact saw very clearly the danger which early Protestantism found itself in,

and to alleviate it he conceived the original hierarchical organization which distinguished them. He wanted neither the subjection to the State consented to by Luther, nor the anarchy developed by the Anabaptist movement in protest against Luther. Calvin's notion of a Church, divinely instituted and completely autonomous with regard to the State, is undeniably a return towards Catholic tradition, even towards its medieval forms. However, although it seems that Calvin wished that the episcopate could be preserved, the organization which he in fact set up differed radically from that of the Catholic Church. Carried away by a certainly erroneous interpretation of the New Testament, he replaced the « ministers of the word » charged with sacred functions, by presbyters or « elders » who are laymen chosen to represent the whole Christian people. It is in the hierarchic councils of these « presbyters » together with the pastors that authority is recognized.

From the point of view of doctrine, except at Geneva during his lifetime and today still among some in Holland and Scotland, Calvinist orthodoxy has never had much of an echo in these Reformed Churches of Presbyterian organization. They have been largely captured by doctrinal liberalism, and they have never accepted the semi-realist conception or frequent celebration of the Eucharist advocated by Calvin. But more than any other type of Protestant Church they have been very aware of their international unity. Since the end of the nineteenth century this has been notably affirmed in the World Presbyterian Alliance. The majority of French Protestants are in communion with the Swiss, with most of the Prussians and Rhenish, the Scots, the Dutch, some English, and more Americans.

However, ever since the time of Cromwell the opposition to Anglicanism, supported primarily simply in the name of Presbyterian principles, is seen to be overtaken by a new conception of the Church. It is this which distinguishes those who have since been called Independents or Congregationalists. It was favoured by Cromwell's Roundheads, and it was also this principle which was made famous by the Pilgrim Fathers, those celebrated passengers of the *Mayflower* who came to Massachusetts in the reign of James I to found there a British colony where Anglicanism would not be imposed by the King. For these Independents the true Church is made up of the free communion of local congregations or parishes, totally independent of each other. The ministers therefore are chosen by the local communities, not merely by delegates of them, and they depend solely on them. This supposes that all members of the « Church » are fully adult in their faith, which is why a certain number at least of the Congregationalist Churches in

their approach to baptism (or anabaptism) admit of no other baptism than that conferred upon adults. It is clearly in Churches of the Congregationalist type that the danger of disintegration in Protestantism has been greatest. It would nevertheless be an error to believe that these Churches have always and everywhere yielded to it. In fact, very often under forms necessarily federative but sometimes very effective, they have maintained a much greater unity than one might think. They continue to form the backbone of the religious vitality of American Protestantism as of British Nonconformity. And they are probably the most missionary-minded Churches of the English-speaking world.

Lastly, the Methodists (also called Wesleyans from the name of their founder, the Anglican minister John Wesley) constitute a recent disintegration dating from the end of the eighteenth century. They were born in an attempt at an evangelistic reform of Anglicanism from within. They became separated from it, not without many regrets, because of the apathy of the hierarchy of that period rather than from any deliberate will for schism on their part. Moreover today they are increasingly tending to draw nearer to their mother Church. They are organized in groups analagous to those of the Presbyterians, sometimes even « episcopal ». That which particularly distinguishes them is an insistence on personal conversion, accompanied by a devotion to Christ which sometimes astonishingly resembles the medieval mysticism which was based on the Saviour's humanity.

The sects properly so-called are on the edge of these large groupings of Churches, although a certain historical and spiritual affinity approximates the more moderate of them to the Congregationalists. But it must be admitted (as M. Jean Seguy has recently pointed out in an excellent work published by the *Editions Beauchesne*) that they are not so much the product of Protestantism as of a tendency already apparent in the middle ages, when one thinks of the Bégards, the *Frères du Libre-Esprit,* and so on. This tendency is clearly seen to have been strengthened by the disintegration of the Protestant Reformation, but it did not originate from it. One must realize, too, that most Protestants deplore it, more especially as they are worse protected against it than are Catholics.

In the other direction, many movements towards ecclesiastical regroupings have appeared since the sixteenth century. Some of them, like the Prussian Evangelical Union to which we have already referred, are of a questionable character. Here it is a question of authoritarian attempts at fusion forced on them mainly by the secular power, supported by liberalism, that is, by doctrinal

indifferentism. But on the fringe of this, since the seventeenth century, with its Leibnitz, there have been sincere attempts to bring the different groupings of Protestantism together, and sometimes one can even go so far as to envisage at least the possibility of a reconciliation with the Catholic Church.

The best known of these movements, the one where this final objective was early and most clearly affirmed, was the famous Oxford Movement in nineteenth-century Anglicanism. But the Oxford Movement would not have been possible without the Wesleyan revival of the preceding century, which was an offshoot of the German pietism of earlier generations. Pietism and revivalism have unquestionably approximated the interior life of Protestants to the traditional lines of medieval piety and therefore of Catholic Christianity. But all too often they have been hampered from further progress by their doctrinal inadequacy. They have made a significant contribution to the re-establishment and preservation in Protestantism of the dogmas of the Incarnation and Redemption through the cross by their awareness of a living relationship with Christ the Saviour. The Oxford Movement from its beginning added to this a feeling for the Church, its traditional character, its divine foundation, and its authority in doctrine. But the Oxford Movement itself was accompanied or followed by analagous movements in most of the other Churches influenced or produced by the Reformation, and particularly the Lutheran Churches. In this connection mention must be made at least of Lohe in Germany (the founder of the Order of Deaconesses), Hornung in Alsace, Grundtvig in Denmark, Schartau in Sweden, and so on. It is the influence of these tendencies, principally represented by the Swedish Lutheran archbishop Nathan Söderblom, that gave birth to the Ecumenical Movement, with its great conferences of « Life and Work », followed by « Faith and Order ». It is still a long way off from the Catholic position, but at least it has revived throughout the whole Protestant world that consciousness of the visible unity which Christ wished to see reigning in His Church. Neither must it be forgotten that the Ecumenical Movement, in favouring closer relationships on a world scale between Churches of a similar type, has already produced local unions between Churches of different types. The best known of these reunions is that which has been accomplished in the Church of South India, where Presbyterians, Congregationalists and (Wesleyan) Methodists have fused with Anglicans. Undoubtedly from the very start of this union, like so many ecumenical efforts, we notice many ambiguities typical of those forms of Protestantism that are furthest removed from Catholic tradition. But it is perhaps

even more remarkable that, once this union was accomplished, it was those more traditional elements that have tended to mould the character of the united Church, but without the destruction of anything positive in the various Protestant insights. There is striking proof of this in a book of Bishop Newbigin, originally a Presbyterian, called *The Household of God* (London, 1953).

One may at least hope, therefore, that the Protestant Churches when seriously considering their reunion problems will arrive little by little at the discovery that that which was best in the religious movement which marked the Protestant point of departure, was led astray at the schism, and can be redeemed only in a re-discovered Catholicity.

LOUIS BOUYER

THE REUNION MOVEMENT IN SCOTLAND

The purpose of this article is twofold: to give some sort of account of the religious situation as it is in Scotland at the present moment; this will necessitate a short discussion of the historical precedents shaping the ecclesiastical position in this country. Secondly, it is proposed to examine in some detail the achievements which have to be recorded in the reunion field, and to attempt some assessment of the present state of the oecumenical movement as it affects the established Church of Scotland and the other non-Catholic bodies.

The year 1560 is generally agreed by historians to constitute the watershed in the religious history of Scotland. In that year the « old religion » (sic), Catholicism, was abandoned; if not practically, then by force of law. On August 24th of that year, the Scottish Estates passed three acts abolishing the jurisdiction of the Pope in Scotland; repealing all legislation in favour of the Catholic Church; and finally, decreeing that anyone found saying or hearing Mass should be punished by confiscation of land and property, by banishment from the kingdom, or for the third offence by death.

In its stead, the Reformed Church was set up, modelled upon that of Calvin in Geneva, and theoretically conforming to the doctrine and organisation laid down by the First Confession of Faith drawn up by a committee of six reformers dominated by John Knox. But for many years it was impossible to delimit strictly the regime of the Reformed Scottish religion; and it could be said that organisation oscillated between a presbyterian form of church government and one based on bishops. The adoption of Andrew Melville's full blooded presbyterianism as contained in his Second Book of Discipline of 1578 was short-lived, and the reassertion of episcopacy by James VI in 1597 by the setting up of « parliamentary bishops » and the Restitution of the Estate of Bishops of 1606 helped to precipitate a religious crisis in Scotland which was not resolved until the Revolution Settlement of 1688. This period, embracing almost the reigns of the Stewart monarchs, James VI, Charles I and II, and James VII (with the exception of the time of the Commonwealth) constitutes the celebrated episode in Scottish religious and political history known as the « Covenanting Period ».

It is impossible in the short scope of this article to describe the manifold ramifications of this movement or to analyse its motives,

but it may be briefly summed up as follows. The determined policy of the Stewart kings to give the Reformed Church in Scotland an episcopal shape, accompanied by a prayer book on the model of the English settlement, gave rise to a violently active, if not minority, opposition consisting of nobles and pastors, whose views were based on the most fundamentalist type of Calvinism. Such idealised pictures of the Covenanters of this period have been drawn by ecclesiastical historians that it came to be held by most Scotsmen of the 19th century as a glorious struggle of freedom- loving Christian democrats against a tyranny, religious and political, of the worst kind imaginable.. The truth is, that more moderate elements of presbyterianism were not averse to accepting some form of episcopacy, agreeable to Scripture and the Scots reformed tradition. That presbyterianism did finally triumph with the departure of the Stewarts was largely due to the scare of a revival of ' Romanism ', the religion of James VII. The religious settlement of the Revolution of 1688 may, therefore, be said to be the *terminus ad quem* of the Reformation in Scotland, and is fundamental to the understanding of the position as it is today.

The Act of Parliament establishing the Presbyterian religion as the ' national ' faith in 1690 was by no means a comprehensive settlement, for it left three groups of dissidents: the Catholics (not yet completely disappeared); the Episcopalians (most of whom were conspicuous by their refusal to take the oath of allegiance to the new foreign king, William of Orange: hence, their name ' non-jurors '); and the Cameronians, who were on the very left side of the Covenanters (so-called after their leader, Richard Cameron). Thus, the Reformation left in its wake not only the unresolvable cleavage between Catholics and Protestants, but also division and disunity within the ranks of the Reformed body itself. The exclusiveness of the Act was applied in all its vigour, and it was not until 1695 that Episcopalianism became tolerated. There also remained, of course, the remnants of Catholicism. While Catholics had been accredited some relief in the practice of their faith through the favourable religious policy of the Catholic sovereign James VII, after the Revolution Settlement Catholicism became once more a proscribed religion.

This was, very briefly, the religious position which obtained at the beginning of the 18th century. I now propose to deal shortly with the religious development up to modern times, and for this purpose I shall treat of each of the groups I have mentioned individually. In the case of the Presbyterian sects, i. e., the Establishment and the dissident Covenanters, however, I shall describe their history in terms of further disunity and movements towards reunion.

THE CATHOLICS

In no other country in Europe, with perhaps the exception of Sweden and Norway, did the Reformation work such havoc with the Catholic Church as in Scotland. « The significant fact about the Protestant Reformation in Scotland is that on the withdrawal of public recognition of the Church, the Church itself immediately and completely collapsed as an institution ... » (1). The Catholic Church, which in a technical sense is a divinely perfect society, contains within itself organisations which, although existing by consent of the Church, have no guarantee of continuing to exist. We may take, for example, diocesan organisation and religious orders. With the rejection of the Catholic Church in Scotland, no diocese or religious order, for that matter, held together. Fr. Thomas Innes records large numbers of priests, secular and religious, who remained faithful, but the present knowledge which we have from official documents does not confirm his statements. We do know for certain that there was apostasy on a big scale to the new religion both by priests and laymen (2). Jesuit and other missionaries in the 17th century appeared to have made little impact, and information as to their activities is very scanty indeed. It was a mistake to hold, as many did, that the old faith would be restored to Scotland by the advent of a Catholic sovereign. History does not repeat itself, and to ask for the return of the ideas of a St. Margaret was pure phantasy. The re-establishment, if any, would come only from below and never from above. And this was how it did happen.

The restoration of Catholicism in Scotland may be said to date from the year 1653 when the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Propaganda Fide) in Rome began to take a serious interest in the plight of the not very numerous scattered Catholic communiies in this country. Fr. William Ballantyne was appointed prefect apostolic and died in 1661. By 1670 there were 26 priests, no churches, and two small schools in the remote Highlands. The Catholic population in 1681 was estimated at Rome to be in the region of 14,000, of which the largest proportion was in the Highlands.

A very significant step was made in 1695 when Thomas Nicholson was consecrated the first Catholic bishop in Scotland since

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(1) Rev. W. J. Anderson. *Innes Review* (Scottish Catholic Historical Society) VII, 2 (1956) pp. 113-116.

(2) Document published for the first time in op. cit., pp. 116-121.

the Reformation. After his consecration in Paris, he arrived in Scotland in 1697 and showed a keen determination to rebuild the old faith of his ancestors. His apostolate was based primarily on the building of churches and schools, and the training of holy priests. To the latter end, he was successful in founding a seminary for the training of Scotsmen at Scala in 1716, a remote cottage in the heart of the Braes (hills) of Glenlivet. The Parliamentary Union of Scotland and England (1707) stilled the storm of persecution for a time, and many reconciliations to the faith took place. When Bishop Ballantyne died in 1718, the Catholic Church was in a position of revival which was unprecedented in the history of post-Reformation Scotland. Of equal magnitude in the task of restoration was the work of Bishop George Hay, who laboured to rebuild the broken church from 1769 until his death in 1811. To his heroic efforts is due entirely the passing in 1793 of the Relief Bill for the Catholics of the country, which was to lead up to the final, and we hope irrevocable, act of freedom for the Catholic Church in Scotland: the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829.

It is difficult to estimate the numerical state of the Church in Scotland in the early 19th century, but when the Catholic Relief Act was passed it would be accurate to say that in the three Apostolic Districts into which the country was divided, the Eastern, the Western, and the Northern, Scotland possessed, among other things, a new and splendid seminary at Blairs, Aberdeen; there were close on thirty priests engaged on the mission; thirty-one church buildings had come into existence, along with twenty primary schools; the number of the faithful was around the 70,000 mark. This was truly an amazing harvest. Towards the middle of the century, the religious life was once again established on Scottish soil. The Sisters of Mercy and the Ursulines founded schools alongside the Marist Brothers and Jesuits. The monastic life, which had been so conspicuous a feature of pre-Reformation Scotland, returned when the Order of St. Benedict built a monastery on the site of the old English fortification at Fort Augustus on the western shores of Loch Ness (1876).

The climax of this wonderful story of the restoration of the Catholic Church in Scotland might well be considered as the full turn of the cycle; this came with the Restoration of the Hierarchy, accomplished by the Bull of Pope Leo XIII, *Ex supremo apostolatus apice* on March 4, 1878. Unlike their brethren of the English Hierarchy, the new Scottish bishops were free to take over titles of the archdioceses and dioceses of the late Middle Ages. While in England the Anglican Church had continued to occupy the ancient sees (their titles being guaranteed by Act of Parliament),

the Reformed Church of Scotland, being presbyterian and therefore possessing no bishoprics, had allowed the names of the ancient sees to lapse ([3]). So returned to Scotland the two metropolitans of St. Andrews and Glasgow, with the bishoprics of Aberdeen, Dunkeld, Galloway, and Argyll, and the Isles. Indeed, the Church has advanced still further, for in the post-war years we have witnessed the creation of two new dioceses under the Archbishop of Glasgow, Paisley and Motherwell. This fact has come about through the rapid increase in the number of Catholics in the industrial belt of the Central Lowlands. Of the 70,000 Catholics mentioned in 1829, 25,000 were to be found in the city of Glasgow and 14,000 in the capital city of Edinburgh. This presents a significant contrast when we realise that in 1800 the Catholic population of Leith and Edinburgh alone was only 1,000. The rise in the numbers is even more phenomenal over the remainder of the century. In the year of the restoration of the Hierarchy the numbers were 300,000 compared with 70,000 in 1829; while today the statistics represent Catholics as one in seven out of a population of five millions, i. e., 15 per cent of the whole; or as a recent University enquiry showed in Glasgow on a certain Sunday, 37.8 per cent of the church population was Protestant, while 62 per cent was Catholic. Of course, that particular city has probably the largest Catholic population of any district in Scotland. Yet the figures are quite revealing; and the survey was conducted by a scientific and impartial group. Up to 1829, most of the Catholics lived in the North of the country. Today, we find the balance is distinctly in favour of the Lowlands, which, it should be remembered, was always the centre of the Reform movement.

How does one explain this amazing increase and also the shift of the Catholic area to the South? One explanation must certainly be discounted, viz., that the rapid rise of Catholicism in modern Scotland was the result of a return of the non-Catholic adherents to the faith of their ancestors. The impact of Catholicism on Presbyterianism has been almost negligible; an interesting fact, if one considers the number of conversions across the border following on the Oxford Movement in the Church of England. There is absolutely nothing comparable to this in the history of 19th century Scotland. As a recent report to the General Assembly concerning the progress of the ecumenical movement in Scotland said: — the religious revolution of the 16th century « continues to divide the Reformed communions from the Roman Catholic

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([3]) The dioceses also of the Scottish Episcopal Church correspond roughly to the pre-Reformation structure.

Church by a barrier deeply based on differences regarding essential doctrine, otherwise massively buttressed, and *apparently impassable from either side, except for a few wanderers* » (4). (italics mine).

The real answer to the question is to be found in the factor which has moulded the atmosphere of modern Scottish Catholicism — the Irish immigration of the 19th century. Vast numbers of the faithful flooded into the industrial areas of this country, the only alternative to starvation in their own country. While, then, as our survey clearly indicates that the existence of Catholics persisted in spite of persecution and the absence of priests, yet it must be confessed that our separated brethren wrongly regard the Catholic Church as an importation from Ireland. Nevertheless, we must do all we can to commend our faith to our Scottish brethren as the faith of Scotland. Particularly is this necessary when we realise that there was in the sixth century a re-establishment of the faith by St. Columba and his monks from Ireland. Not only is this fact accepted by the Presbyterian body, but they tend to idealise the Celtic Church as the pure church in this land without any Roman accretions!

The Irish immigration has shaped the structure of the Church here in Scotland in a social way, and in a country where social differences are important, to the extent that the majority of the non-Catholic churches belong to the middle classes, the fact that the immigrants were all working class, mostly of unskilled labour, the « hewers of wood and drawers of water », is of great significance for its impact on the other church-going section of the community. As Catholics utilise more and more the excellent educational opportunities provided in the form of Catholic secondary schools maintained entirely by the state (perhaps the best system of Catholic education in Europe, if not in the world) and generous bursaries for study at the universities and colleges, then this difficulty will be overcome. The emergence of a Catholic professional and middle class is a very hopeful sign for the Church in this country. In spite of changing standards, a good education is one of the great traditions and marks of the true Scot. And even Catholics of Irish extraction may graduate to that position soon.

With regard to the Catholic Church and other Christians, there can be said to be little or no co-operation. There is, at the most, peaceful and sometimes charitable co-existence. As in most predominantly Protestant countries, the attitude of the Catholic authorities is naturally that of the conversion of the country. For

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(4) « What Keeps the Churches Apart? » St. Andrew's Press, Edinburgh, 1956, p. 11.

this intention prayers are offered once a month together with Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. Contacts with non-Catholics are confined to talks and lectures given on the Catholic Church by competent authorities, especially in the large towns and cities. Attendances at these conferences are quite remarkable in a country where prejudice dies hard, and a percentage of conversions result each year.

But the best intentions of the Catholic Church are suspect; for example, in the city of Glasgow where Catholics constitute approximately half of the practising Christian population, Catholics are occupying posts of responsibility of influence in local government and politics. This has created an unfavourable impression among some of the Protestant ministers of the city, and even Dr. G. F. Macleod, prominent Church of Scotland minister, Moderator Designate (5), and founder and leader of the Iona Community, could say in all seriousness and sincerity, that the two enemies of Christianity in the city of Glasgow were communism and the Roman Catholic Church! Yet when the Bishops of Scotland issued a joint pastoral last year restating the Catholic principles of the just strike (after weeks of unofficial strike at a Lanarkshire factory of Rolls Royce Ltd.) they were listened to with great respect, and their pronouncements went a long way to solving a situation involving hardship for thousands of workmen.

A document of supreme interest and encouragement to those interested in the ecumenical movement in this country emanated from the pen of the Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh in the form of an Advent pastoral letter. The pastoral is inspired by the terrible events which took place in Hungary towards the end of 1956. The Archbishop repeats several times his conviction that we as Catholics must work with those of other beliefs at the level (and His Grace is thinking in this context particularly about the united Christian front against Communism) where such co-operation does not cut across denominational differences.

A short notice appeared in the Scottish Jesuit monthly the *Mercat Cross* which is of particular interest to unionists in Scotland (Jan. 1957). Referring to the lack of interest especially among the Catholics of Scotland in the week of prayer for Christian unity, the editor, Rev. Fr. J. Moffat, S. J., makes this observation: « For some reason or other the Octave of Prayer for Christian Unity has unhappily never become one of the more popular occasions in the Church's year in this country. Where it flourishes, and where it

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(5) Moderator Designate will succeed the present Moderator after his year of office.

does not, it is only a small part — one might say only the easiest part — of what is necessary to be done before anything solid is accomplished. Besides such prayer, we need to make a much greater effort at sympathetic understanding of each other's religious convictions, or at least a patience with them and a readiness to believe that they are sincerely held ». (p. 3) It will perhaps seem strange to readers (and I have in mind Catholics in other parts of Europe where contacts with non-Catholics are well-established) that we in Scotland are only beginning to realise just how important this particular aspect of the ecumenical movement is, as another approach to our brethren separated from us by the course of history, than that of straight conversion. The latter undoubtedly must be our aim; but the exercise of charity in the way of mutual exchange of ideas would help immeasurably to clear away the misunderstandings and prejudices which do exist among us, as well as among non-Catholics. It is in this spirit that this article is written, for the religious position in Scotland especially among those outside the Church must be practically unknown to Catholics abroad.

PRESBYTERIANISM IN SCOTLAND

It was not long after the establishment of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland that schism began to develop within its ranks. The recently united Parliament of Scotland and England (1707) passed what was called a Patronage Act in 1712 which was to split the Presbyterian establishment into three groups. This act overturned the accepted Presbyterian practice of the appointment of ministers to parishes, which was that the congregation made the call to the particular appointee, and collation was made by the presbytery. For this method of appointment the act substituted the ancient practice of nomination by the lay heritors, or landholders, of the parish. Although some sort of compromise was reached between the kirk and the authorities, the purists under the leadership of a minister named Ebenezer Erskine, seceded from the Establishment in 1733 and founded a schismatic body which came to be known as the Associate Presbytery. The growing tenacity of the patrons of the livings led to a further revolt in 1752, as a result of which a minister of the presbytery of Dunfermline named Thomas Gillespie founded a body — the Relief Synod. These two kirks had considerable support, and by the end of the century they were quite a power in the land with upwards of two hundred churches and the same number of ministers.

By far the most important schism from the parent body was the result of an event in 1843 which shaped the course of Scottish

religious history for nearly a century. That was the Disruption in the Church of Scotland. This event, too, was a direct result of the workings of the Patronage Act. The injustices of the act began to play a prominent part in the discussions of the Assemblies of the Establishment, for in 1834 we find that the General Assembly of that year approved of a Veto Act, which gave presbyteries the right to collation but also empowered the individual congregations to veto any nomination they deemed unsuitable. This enactment was put to the test when the patron of the parish of Auchterarder was upheld in his appeal against the veto in the House of Lords at Westminster, which declared the Veto Act illegal. The Church of Scotland was now faced with one of the most critical decisions in its history as a Reformed church.

There were two courses which could be taken: either work by constitutional means for the abolition of patronage; or take the extreme step of severing all connexion with the State. The latter action was courageously taken by approximately one third of the ministers and elders of the kirk, led by Dr. Chalmers. The ultimate result of this historic decision was the setting up of the Free Church of Scotland, the emphasis being on the word 'free', i. e., of all Erastian entanglements. Out of 1203 ministers, 451 seceded to the new kirk and over two thirds of the lately set up « quoad sacra » parish churches or chapels of ease ranged themselves alongside of the seceders. The remaining body decided to work for the withdrawal of the Patronage Act, but this was not accomplished until the year 1874. Thus, by the middle of the 19th century, Presbyterianism presented a disunited front to the nation, for there were now in existence four groups, hardly differing (strangely enough) in matters of faith, but split over this question about which many Scotsmen felt so keenly, viz., state control of religion. The last vestige of that position had now been jettisoned by a goodly number of the ministers and laity.

By 1874, however, the further disintegration of Presbyterianism was checked. The split-up of the earlier schism into two rival factions, one, the Old and New Light Burghers; and, secondly, the Old and New Light Anti-Burghers (6) should only be mentioned as marking a final clarification of the process which was to result in the union of the « new Lights » in 1820, to become the United Secession Church; to which was added in 1867 the Old Relief Church of Gillespie. This united body assumed the title of the

(6) Burghers and Anti-Burghers: in 1747, a question rose as to the lawfulness of an oath imposed on all burgesses and caused this division. By a changed attitude towards the binding nature of the Covenants, there emerged the Old and New Lights.

United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. The outstanding mark of the U. P. Kirk was to be its less rigid adherence to the historic creeds of Christendom. This more liberal theological approach was made possible by the comparative freedom and liberty which this body enjoyed to determine its own theological problems. Ministerial subscription to the creeds on ordination was limited to « acceptance of the *substance* of the faith ».

After 1843 several discrepancies of an interesting nature existed between the Established Kirk and the Free Kirk. In the first place, the Establishment found itself with an abundance of church buildings but with no ministers to function in them. On the other hand, the Free Kirk had naturally a great scarcity of churches, but they possessed a superabundance of ministers. Gradually the Frees by means of voluntary contributions of money from their members (and a large section of their adherents were prosperous middle class folk) succeeded in building up a vast Sustentation Fund to provide for ministers' stipends; new buildings soon appeared to house the congregations, many of them of a remarkably high standard of ecclesiastical architecture in comparison with some of the more unbecoming erections of the Establishment. In the second place, while the older of the two kirks had scarcely developed its foreign mission activities, the Free Kirk was making striking progress in the mission field. Another factor of great importance was the extraordinary vitality which the Free Church manifested in all her activities, as well as the extent of her appeal to the nation. No longer could it be said that the Established Kirk was the national religion. Indeed, her members boasted proudly, and not without reason, that they were the « Church of Scotland Free ».

It was evident that the Free Kirk and the United Presbyterians held a great deal in common, especially since the former had adopted in her assembly the Declaratory Act; thus the authorities of both parties began to negotiate a basis of union « as a Christian duty ». This union came to pass in 1900. The new body was named the United Free Church of Scotland. The union was marked by a tremendous spirit of unanimity from both sides. The ministers of the Establishment were deeply impressed; and their moderator at that time, the Very Rev. Dr. Macleod said: « Our heartfelt prayer is that the union may endure to the glory of God and to the true weal of the one church of Christ in Scotland and throughout the world ».

The years from 1900 to 1929 were devoted to the preparation of an approach for the final step in the reunification of Presbyterians in this country, and more especially between the two largest bodies,

the Church of Scotland and the United Frees. There were certain practical difficulties which also made the union more necessary; the chief of these was the fact that, since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, there had been a shift of the population to the Forth and Clyde Valley, a feature of Scottish social development we have already noted in connection with our account of Catholicism. This fact necessitated some drastic reassessment of the Presbyterian churches' resources in the way of buildings and distribution of the pastoral districts of the ministers. In 1909 the General Assemblies of both denominations agreed to enter into unrestricted conference with the « great object of the Presbyterian reunion in Scotland ».

The advent of the First World War retarded progress towards reunion. However, the negotiations which were resumed in 1919 produced two fundamental difficulties which stood in the way of further progress: these were in fact the two irreconcilable ideas which had previously caused the schism. On the one hand, the Church of Scotland still adhered to its claim to be recognised as the church of the nation, and it had a connexion with the state; while, on the other, the Free Church symbolised the complete freedom for religious belief and practice from any outside authority. A step leading to the reconciliation of these two opposing points of view was taken when the Church of Scotland was granted a constitution by Act of Parliament in 1921, which declared unequivocally her spiritual freedom from the state. Eventually, the Free Church recognised the doctrinal basis of the Establishment as acceptable. Matters of church endowment were adjusted in 1925, and the union was duly consummated in 1929. In the union affected, complete unanimity was unfortunately not achieved; and a number of ministers and laity, not very large, refused to enter the union and formed the United Free Church Continuing. It should be noted also that at the times of the previous unions small groups were reluctant to participate, with the result that today in Scotland there are scattered here and there small representations of all the Presbyterian bodies which we have mentioned above. Their numbers, however, are not significant (7).

It may be well at this point, before going on, to describe the next logical stage in this reunion movement, the closer co-operation of the national churches of the two great countries of Britain, to try to give some account of the general ethos of the Church of Scotland.

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(7) In 1956 the Original Secession Church entered into union with the Church of Scotland by a large majority, thus ending the breach of nearly two centuries.

The most relevant feature of Presbyterian polity for us to discuss, having in mind the relations of the Church of Scotland vis-à-vis its Anglican counterpart in England, would be the bases of its order and its ministry. The Presbyterians here have carried on what was in essence the foundation of Calvin's reform, a return to the parity of the ministry based on the identity of New Testament bishop and presbyter. A recent writer on Presbyterianism observes: « the attempt to return to a simple ministry of Word and Sacrament was a natural consequence of the spiritual, social, political, and moral character which the episcopate had assumed by the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the inadequacy of the superintendence which it offered ... » (8). It is true that all along the Scottish Presbyterians repudiated an episcopate which stood for the idea of prelacy or in any way reflected the Catholic conception of the fullness of the priesthood. Presbyterian historians argue that the office of bishop has never been explicitly condemned by their system of church organisation; its widespread abandonment is explained by circumstances arising in Scotland which were almost inevitable. Thus, in certain countries in Europe where Presbyterianism was adopted as the reformed religion, it retained a form of episcopacy in the person of the superintendent. This applies particularly to Hungary, Germany, Italy, and Czechoslovakia, and to a short period in Scotland. Every minister is held to be independent by his ordination except to the localised assembly of ministers and elders called the presbytery. « He is no delegate of a bishop, but is free to proclaim the Word, celebrate the sacraments, and direct public worship. Parity of ministry is regarded in a positive light, and not so much as in the way of a levelling of officials ». It is the result of a « devout emphasis upon the Headship of Christ, and so of the spiritual nature of the minister's trust and dependence upon grace » (9).

A very important feature of Scottish presbyterianism is the office of lay elder. Many of the Scottish reformers thought like George Gillespie, following Bucer, that the power of the keys had been delivered collectively to the whole church, and was exercised not only through the ministers, but also the laity. All the members are priests. One Scottish divine, James Moffat, went so far as to claim — « it is on the efficiency of the elders that the Presbyterian church in any community depends ». James Guthrie, one of the foremost of the Covenanters in the 17th century, held with all sincerity that elders were members of the ' clergy ', using that word

(8) G. D. Henderson, D. D., *Presbyterianism.* Aberdeen University Press, 1954, p. 160.

(9) Henderson, op. cit., p. 162.

in contradistinction to laity. When the author (already quoted) on presbyterian polity writes — « the way of living of professing Christians is precisely the reason for the multitudinous organizations for old and young connected with the modern congregation, and these are under the supervision of the elders » ([10], — this leaves us with the impression that the presbyterian eldership is nothing more than a form of the lay apostolate. Yet, when one examines this question of the nature of the eldership, one is struck by the fact that Presbyterians do claim for it some special place in the spiritual side of things. For example, while writers emphasise that the so-called « ordination » of elders is distinct from ordination to the ministry, yet several questions of not merely academic interest concern the Presbyterian here. Some people prefer to use the term « installation » of elders. Some are in doubt as to whether the minister should lay on hands himself, or whether the whole presbytery should do so. Again, others ask why other elders should not also participate in the ceremony by laying on their hands. In fact, there would appear to be no clear idea as to whether the eldership is a ministry or whether it is purely a lay position. We certainly need some clarification as to what Presbyterians define as a layman. At any rate, from the ecumenical point of view, competent authorities assert that « Presbyterianism will insist on the admission of the laity to a real share in the spiritual affairs of a church ». The elders at present, as far as functions are concerned, constitute along with the minister of a parish, the kirk session or governing body of the congregation. In the earlier centuries, the elders were constituted as the guardians of parochial law and order, both physical and moral. Today, their duties are to assist the minister in the administration of the Lord's Supper by distribution of the elements at communion, and the visitation of the sick.

Along with the eldership must be mentioned the order of deacons as characteristic of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. It is a curious fact that the office of deacon had to be revived in the Church of Scotland after the Union of 1929. Deacons are certainly mentioned in the St. Andrew's Kirk Session records of 1564, and for the year 1641 we have an excellent account of the Scots deacon by Alexander Henderson. There, their duties seem to consist of collecting and distributing alms for the poor of the parish. Conflicting evidence of the 17th century shows, however, that this duty was also performed by the elders in many parishes. In 1709 Steuart of Pardovan regrets the disappearance of deacons in many

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(10) Henderson, p. 169.

congregations. When the Disruption took place in 1843, the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, the Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod, declared that there were no deacons as distinct from elders in many congregations. It was Thomas Chalmers in that same year who, when he initiated the Free Church, also reintroduced the diaconate as one of the features of Presbyterianism. When the union of the two bodies was accomplished, the Church of Scotland adopted the office of deacon, although in many of the old parish kirk sessions there are still no deacons, and in many cases remains a feature only of the original United Free congregations. There seems to be general agreement among Presbyterians that the diaconate is not a spiritual office. Since their one-time spiritual functions have either been secularised or taken over by the state, their main duty today is the administration of the finances of the congregation ([11]).

It will be clear that for practical purposes the Church of Scotland may be said to possess a threefold ministry of presbyter-bishops, elders, and deacons. Yet for purposes of reunion discussions with the Church of England, only the first two of these grades enter for the present under discussion. It is not surprising, therefore, that many scholars from the Presbyterian side are attempting to clarify the fundamental issue between them — the nature and history of the bishop's and presbyter's offices, especially as these are revealed in the New Testament. Of particular interest in this respect, are two papers by Professors Reid and Torrance. These have appeared recently in this particular context and are published by the Scottish *Journal of Theology*.

(*To be concluded*)

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([11]) J. T. Cox, D. D., *Practice and Procedure in the Church of Scotland*. 1945.

THE ARAB MOVEMENT, CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM TO—DAY

Owing to recent events, the Middle East has attracted the attention of the whole world as seldom before. The Arabs are becoming more and more conscious of their unity and of their importance in the development of modern history. Arabia is the country from which the Arab tribes, unified by the political and religious genius of Mohammed, rose more than thirteen centuries ago to conquer the world. It is the birth-place of Islam; and Mohammedanism is still to-day closely connected with the national life of the Arab.

The General Situation of Christians in the Middle East

In the seventh century when the Arabs were still recent converts to Islamism, they occupied such ancient Christian lands as Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and later on, part of Asia Minor. The widespread belief that the Moslems forcibly imposed their religion on the subject peoples is not strictly correct. Indeed, they showed remarkable tolerance for those times and left the Christians with their religion intact, merely demanding their submission to the power of the Islamic people (predestined by God to conquer the world), and obliging them to pay taxes. Moreover, Christians were not allowed to become members of that theocratic society, based as it was on laws 'revealed' by God. The Moslems made a pact (*dhimma*) with them — the subject 'infidels', both tolerated and protected (*dhimmi*) — guaranteeing their lives and their freedom to practice their own religion. But various factors, such as social inequality, the burden of taxes and sometimes even persecution, led to progressive reduction in their numbers, so that to-day only nine per cent of the population of the Middle East (with the exception of Persia) — that is, about five million — remains faithful to the Gospel. And so the Christian community represents but a small minority within the Islamic world, and it has been further weakened by various internal divisions — the unhappy result of the Christological controversies from the fifth to the seventh centuries, and of the Byzantine schism in the eleventh century. On the other hand, from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, a promising movement towards reunion was set in motion. Latin missionaries, with their apostolic energy and spirit of self-sacrifice, and supported by the Christian powers (especially France), succeeded in bringing back a relatively

large section of the Christians in the Middle East to our Holy Mother the Church. At the present moment about a quarter of the Chrisians living in those parts are Catholic. But even these Catholics are split into various independent rites, which are not always in perfect concord. These rites find their origin in the various groups that were formerly at variance with Rome, and hostile to each other. Their reunion with Rome has not yet completely succeeded in patching up their old differences.

Christians and Arab Nationalism

Thus the Christians represent a very modest group, still far from harmonious in the midst of the unrest in the Arab world agitated by a surge of national feeling. The fundamental question now is this: What attitude should the Christians take in face of Arab nationalism, which hopes to unify all Arabs through the resurrection of their empire? Can they take part in this movement with their whole hearts as sons of the Arab people, or must they see in it a threat to their own existence?

Important steps on the road to the unification of theArabs have already been taken. In 1945 there was formed the Arab League, and to this all the independent Arab states now belong except Tunisia. Recently, the President of Syria, Shukri el Quwwetli, proposed the formation of a federation of states, to be called « The Union of Arab States », with one president only at its head, one legislative assembly, and a unified citizenship. Already on the fifth of July last, the Syrian Parliament approved the plan for union with Egypt. Thus there would be laid the foundation of the desired « Union of Arab States ».

Islam, the Motivating Force of the Pan-Arab Movement

Officially, the underlying principle of unity in the pan-Arabic movement is of a racial character, which therefore would allow a place within it for the Arab-speaking Christians also. But in reality — and one may as well have no illusions in the matter — its true driving force is Islam. Islam was the foundation of the caliphs' empire, called by God to bring the whole world under the scepter of Allah. For the followers of Mohammed, the world consisted of two parts: the dominion of Islam, and the land of the 'infidels' which was yet to be conquered.

As recently as the seventeenth of July 1956, for example, King Saud declared at Arafat, in the course of an address to pilgrims

heading for Mecca, that Mohammed was the great Arab, whom God sent as a guide to the peoples of the world, the master of the Arab nation, who led the Arabs to glory and made them one nation (*The Muslim World,* Jan. 1957, page 83). In February 1950, the head of the Moslem Brethren of Syria, the sheik Mustafa as-Siba'i, wrote an article entitled « The Declaration of Islam as the State Religion in Syria » published in various Arab newspapers such as the *Al-Manar,* which is the official organ of the Brotherhood. In it the thesis is openly maintained that Islam should be the driving force par excellence of Arab unity. The text reads: « Thus, the establishment of Islam as the state religion will be a strong factor for unity between ourselves and our Arab brethren and a formal symbol of the *rapprochement* between the states of the Arab League. Why, therefore, should we neglect the strongest factor — popular and official — for Arab unity? Why should we refuse to face reality?... National unity among the Arabs will not be achieved by throwing away the sympathies of sixty millions and by neglecting the national religious tie between them ... In fact, they believe that Arab nationalism was born only when they embraced Islam and that this nationalism would not be as vital as it obviously is were it not for Islam » (*The Muslim World,* July-October, 1954, pp. 220 and 223).

Radio Cairo puts forward the same ideas. « The voice of the Arabs » announced on the tenth of October 1954, for example, in the name of the Egyptian dictator: « We are part of North Africa, and it is part of us. We are both part of that great Arab fatherland which stretches from Gibraltar to the Mossul mountains ... Dispersed throughout the world, we are united by the consciousness of our common origin, our *common religion,* and our common tongue. Let all understand — whether they like it or not — that every land using the Arab tongue belongs to us, and our land must be free » (*Le Temps de Paris,* April 4, 1956).

The strongest bond that holds the enormous Arab majority together is undoubtedly its common Islamic faith. But this matter of common origin is, to say the least, questionable. The Arab invasion in the seventh century must not be imagined as a large-scale emigration of Arabs from their land of origin. The Arab conquerors represented a very small minority in the subject lands — nothing more than a military occupation force. The great majority of present-day Moslems — the so-called Arabs — originate in fact from the natives of Egypt, Syria, Phoenicia, and Greece, who, through the course of the centuries, renounced their Christian religion under the continual pressure that they suffered and gave their allegiance to Islam. However, the bond of their common

language really does unite the Christians and the Moslems. For the Christians too, the Arab language, literature and art are held in the highest estimation. The Christians' contribution to modern Arab literature is by no means insignificant.

Positive Attitude of Christians Towards the Arab National Movement

Indeed, even the movement of liberation from the Turkish yoke, which began in the second half of the last century, was given fundamental support from the very start by Christians as well. In 1880, Christians educated at the Protestant College in Beirut founded there an Arab-Nationalist secret society. The newspaper *Al-Ahram* (the Pyramids), which has always energetically championed the cause of Arab liberty, was started in Cairo in 1875 by two Melkite Catholics, Salim and Beshara Takla. The Christian Negib Azury founded the « League of the Arab Fatherland » at Paris in 1905. The Arab congress, which took place at Paris in 1913 and which decisively affected the Arab movement was organized in great measure by Christians.

In the last ten years the Christians have often quite openly shown their solidarity with their Islam compatriots in common national problems. In the struggle for national independence, whether of Egypt, Syria or the Lebanon, the Christians made common cause with the Moslems. The national conflict with the immigrant Jews in Palestine, considered by all the Arabs to be intruders, united once more the Christians and the Moslems in their common struggle for self-defence. Even in the present Suez Canal crisis, the Christians proclaimed their solidarity with the Moslems. At Cairo the Coptic congress announced at the beginning of last October the unanimous support of the Coptic Christians to Nasser's policy and denied the rumour that Christians would be hostile to the revolutionary movement because of their own economic disadvantage. At the opening of the congress, the Vice-President of the Joint Council (*meglis melli*) of the non-Catholic Copts, Iskandar Damian, announced verbatim: « The Security Council of the United Nations must realize that all Egyptians are of one heart and one mind, brought together by their patriotism. We all stand by Gamel ' Abd en-Nasser and are ready to shed our blood ». Even the well-known Egyptian Jesuit Father Ayrouth in the congress declared himself in favour of Nasser's policy, and of the harmony of Christian and Moslem in the advancement of the national interests of Egypt.

The Christian Bishops of Aleppo, during the Suez crisis, presented a declaration to the prefect of the city, which said that all Syrians, whatever their creed, would feel it their duty to defend their country and that the Christians would wish to occupy the front lines in defence of their country and the Arab ideal, being ready to make any sacrifice. (*An-Nasr,* Nov. 11, 1956). On the first of October 1956, the heads of all the Christian communities in Syria, met in the Orthodox Patriarchate of Damascus, launched an appeal to Christians, inviting them in the present, critical situation of the Arab states to defend their country which was part of the Arab nation (*Proch. Orient. Chrétien,* July-Sept. 1956, page 282 ff.). On December 5, 1956, a Maronite priest wrote an article on the Christians in the Middle East in the French review *Informations catholiques internationales.* In it he established the fact that throughout the Arab world and even in the Lebanon, the Christians no longer wish to be 'protected' by western states, especially by France, and yet quite naturally, neither to they want to remain *dhimmi* in a Moslem community. They have decided for the « Arab solution » and want to be loyal citizens with the enjoyment of the same rights as the Moslems in their common Arab fatherland.

Christian Distrust of Pan-Arabism Penetrated by Islam

Nevertheless, these declarations cannot convince us that *all* Christians in Arab countries have really laid aside their innate distrust of the descendants of the Moslem conquerors, and that they are enthusiastic supporters of the new Arab dominion, which must remind them of the ancient empire of the caliphs which oppressed all those not Moslems. The Christians' genuine state of mind is more clearly evident where they are conscious of their strength — in the Lebanon. Here indeed they do represent the majority.

To confirm this fact we may quote various reports: On August 20, 1954, the leader of the Lebanese Falangists addressed an open letter to the President, asking: « If Arabism is one and the same as Islamism, how can you claim Christian support? » He establishes that the Arab states are denominational; Islamism is the state religion, or at least it is *de rigueur* for the President (*Pr. Or. Chr.* 1954 n° 3, page 277). In May 1956 the Christian weekly *Ach-Shirah* rebuked the Moslems who were demanding the economic union of the Lebanon and Syria, and asked on what grounds the claim could be made that the Lebanon should offer itself as security for

Arabism when this meant in reality nothing else than Islamism. In August of the same year some of the Falangists publicly burnt an Egyptian flag in Bikfaya (Lebanon). Naturally, the Lebanon too upheld the Arab cause in the conflict over Suez. The Lebanese Parliament on November 2, 1956 unanimously condemned the Franco-British action, precisely on the grounds of the obligation and fraternal solidarity entered into with the Arab States (*OM*, Nov. 1956, p. 615).

At Beirut, the capital of the Lebanon, in the middle of November last, there took place the conference of the chiefs of the Arab States, who applauded Nasser and the Egyptian people for the self-denial they had shown in defending the Arab peoples (*OM* Nov. 1956, page 686).

Nevertheless, the new president of the Council of Lebanese ministers, Sami es-Sulh, outlining his program to the Parliament on November 27, 1956, emphasized side by side with their allegiance to the Arab League also the independence of the Lebanese State.

National Union between Christians and Moslems?

It is not easy for the Christians to lend a trusting ear to fine words on national union with the Moslems. And indeed there is no shortage of such fine words. The Syrian dictator, Shishakli, deprived of his office in February 1954, announced for example in his manifesto to Parliament on October 24, 1953: « The chief foundation of our domestic policy will be the effort to bring all the citizens to absolute equality » ... « Syria must be the land of free and equal citizens ».

In his speech on the nationalization of the Suez Canal, Nasser declared on July 26, 1956: « We proclaim that Egypt forms a solid front, a united national block. We shall fight and shed our blood to the last drop. We shall build up a strong Egypt, an Arab Egypt ». It is obvious that in such a ' united block ' religious differences can no longer be of any importance. On the occasion of the Copt congress on October last, the minister for the Waqfs (pious foundations), the Sheik, Ahmad Hassan al-Bakuri, stated: « We are all Copts. There are Moslem Copts and Christian Copts. ' Copt ' simply means Egyptian. A Copt congress is therefore an Egyptian congress » (*Le Rayon d'Egypte,* Oct. 7, 1956).

If these are not just phrases but a living reality, then a real revolutionary change must have taken place in the Moslem mentality. For all the Islamic tradition, the decisive factor in the constitution of society is religion. It is the foundation of Moslem

society, which is both church and state at one and the same time. To the Moslems, tied to tradition, non-Moslems are the ' infidels ', who are perforce excluded from Moslem society. They are tolerated, it is true, but it would be absurd to think of these ' infidels ', subjugated as they are by the Moslems (the chosen people of God), living in the same society on equal terms with the Moslem citizens, and enjoying the same rights. This is a conviction held through the passage of centuries, and as we shall see, it has not altogether disappeared.

Traditional Attitude of Moslems towards Christians

But it cannot be denied that Islamism is at the moment undergoing a profound transformation. Modern European ideas are making constant headway. In the modern European conception of the state, the followers of the most diverse religions can live together with equal rights. The only question to be solved is: what form of state and society will eventually prevail in the new Islamic world?

The traditional principle of Islam was officially set forth by the Syrian Moslems with all its force shortly before the last war. The French High Commissioner had put forward proposals for the revision of personal status for the various creeds in the country. The Moslem commission appointed to examine the proposals rejected them for the following reason: « These laws regard the Islam people as *Ta'ifa* (that is, merely one socio-religious group among many). This supposition is unfounded, for they represent the overwhelming majority. And so it would be unjust to put them on the same level as the minority groups » (*Al Bachir,* March 23, 1939). And so one can see that the Moslems are *the* Nation, whereas the others are tolerated and despised minorities, who cannot be given the same rights as the sovereign Islamic people.

More recently still, like principles have been set forth. At the international congress of Moslem youth which took place in January 1955 at Karachi, certain politico-religious decisions were taken which emphasized the principle of the Moslems' superiority in the organization of world society (*Pr. Or. Chr.* 1955, page 159). Here is another example: in October 1954, the Syrian Cadi, Sheik Ali Tintaui, a friend of the Moslem Brethren, said the following in a sermon at the mosque of the Omaiads at Damascus: « A Moslem from India is more my neighbor than a Christian from Damascus ». He was alluding to the contemporary president of ministers, Phares el-Khury, who was a Christian. To avoid giving

a false impression, however, we ought to point out that this sermon left behind it a wave of indignation even on the part of the Moslem press itself. Only *Al Manar,* the official organ of the Moslem Brotherhood, took the side of the Cadi. For this rash assertion he was arraigned before the courts at the instigation of his own colleagues.

The unflinching champions of Islam tradition are the Moslem Brethren, who would mould the state in complete accordance with Islam principles. To begin with, they had an important part in revolutionary Egypt. In August 1952, their headquarters announced their official program; Islam law must direct public and private life. The old, corrupt constitution must be replaced by a new one, taking its inspiration from Islamic principles in all walks of life. The Moslem Brethren were, it is true, suppressed in Egypt, but their ideas still hold their own. In Syria this Brotherhood still survives, is very active, and has some important leading positions at its disposal. Their chief, Sheik Mustafa as-Siba'i, to whom we have already referred, is the Dean of the Faculty of Moslem Jurisprudence, opened at Damascus in March 1955.

Islamism Dominant in the State

In Egypt the Moslem Brotherhood has not completely succeeded in making its ideas prevail. The military government wants to form the state in accordance with its own ideas, and does not want any interference on the part of the Moslem Hierarchy. The idea of separating the state from religion as the Turks have done appears to find support in government circles. The official press often supports the idea of a modern state modelled on that of Turkey.

Nevertheless, the new constitution solemnly proclaimed by Nasser before a mass—gathering on January 16, 1956 declared anew — with Article 3 — that Islamism is the state religion. If this is taken at its face value it means that Moslem law will have the last word in the Egyptian state. But this law does not recognize equal rights for non-Moslems. They cannot form a part of the Prophet's people — they will remain *dhimmi* (' infidels '), tolerated and protected. And so it is to be feared that Article 31 of the new constitution which proclaims the equality of all Egyptians in the sight of the law « whatever their race, origin, tongue, religion or faith », will remain a dead letter.

It would appear that Revolutionary Egypt has decided in favor of the traditional Islamic régime, and that it is not disposed to follow the example of Ataturk. Nevertheless, unlike Syria, the

Egyptian constitution at least does not explicitly state that the president must be a Moslem. Among the president's requisite qualities, listed in Article 120, no mention was made of his creed. But it goes without saying that in practice the president is perforce a Moslem.

The Syrian constitution of 1953 does not in fact proclaim Islamism as the state religion. The unanimous protest of all the Christian communities succeeded in preventing that, thank goodness. To make up for it, in Article 3 paragraph 2, Moslem law is designated as the principal source of legislation. But in this law one finds some things which are not completely reconcilable with the concept of a modern state and the equality of all its citizens.

In the Egyptian constitution one finds nothing of the same nature, but the law of September 21, 1955, which came into force on January 1, 1956, abolishing the communities' tribunals, in effect reserves a privileged position for Moslem law under a façade of parity and modern sentiment. The Christian tribunals which had jurisdiction in matters of personal status (that is, of marriage and family concerns) have been really abolished, whereas the Moslem ones have been abolished only ostensibly.

In fact, the Moslem Cadi fill the benches of the state tribunals almost to the exclusion of all others. Moslem law applies also to the Christians if, as often happens, the parties are of different creeds — and as a matter of course if one of the parties is a Moslem. Christians of the same creed must refer their marriage problems to the state tribunal, where the judges, usually Moslems, should render a decision in accordance with Christian canon law, of which, however, they understand nothing. Against this violation of Christian rights, the leaders of the various Christian confessions and rites have protested with one voice, but in vain.

Economic and Social Disadvantages for Christians

This is just *one* instance, yet a telling one, of how the Christians are at a disadvantage in social life, although they are living in a country whose leaders are forever proclaiming the equality of all citizens, whatever their creed.

Even a person like Fr. Ayrouth, S. J., who is usually inclined to be optimistic about the religious situation in Egypt and who cannot be reproached for his lack of patriotism, in an article written for *Proche Orient Chrétien* (April-June, 1956, p. 125) deplores the fact that under the new regime Catholic and non-Catholic Copts were being banished from government positions. He likewise calls

attention to the danger arising from the national assimilation of Christians: « If Catholics », he wrote, « in order to become more national, enter completely into a culture which is in effect Arab and Islamic, then they will most certainly be assimilated; but at the same time they will be dissipated, and their Christianity will run the risk of loosing its lifeblood ».

In Egypt lately even Christians working in private concerns are being ousted from their positions. In this respect *Le Rayon d'Egypte* of February 2, 1957 laments the fact that Christians seeking employment with a private company are always informed: « We do not accept Christians. We have instructions to hire Moslems alone ». For these reasons Christians have grown panic-stricken. They see themselves increasingly abandoned to misery; they fear they will become the slaves of a Moslem regime.

In Egypt public life is entirely imbued with Islamism. Sunday observance is tending to disappear, and Christians are constrained to work on that day. In the spring of 1954 the government decreed that Christians were obliged to report to work on Sunday morning; but in view of the unanimous protest which the decision occasioned, they were able to obtain the concession of not presenting themselves for work before 10:30 a. m. Mohammedan propaganda is carried on with open publicity. All day long in the cities, the Koran is broadcast over loudspeakers to such an extent that it grates on the nerves of the Moslems themselves. Teachers of Arabic in the schools must be practicing Moslems who have obtained their diploma from a Mohammedan university. The younger Christian generation thus finds itself completely exposed to Islamic propaganda; for in the language course in Arabic, the student must obviously read the Koran, the principal monument of Arab classical literature.

In the other Arab States the situation is no better. In Syria, shortly before the fall of Shishakli, at the beginning of 1954, the Christian hierarchy of Aleppo addressed a memorandum to the head of the government profoundly deploring the harm being done to Christians, whose liberty was progressively being limited, and against whom was being conducted a systematic campaign of restrictions and legal measures.

The understandable hostility against foreigners is in effect also directed against Christians who, in spite of the high-sounding words on national unity, are at bottom still considered as strangers in their own country. Early in 1952 during the excesses committed against foreigners in Egypt, not a few native Christians were seriously molested as well; many homes belonging to Christians were marked in chalk by the rebels for looting purposes. It is a

fact that among Moslems anti-Christian propaganda is steadily growing in intensity. In Jordan, for instance, groups of Christian pilgrims were constrained to have recourse to the police for protection; and native Christians of that country have been kept in a state of continual apprehension (*Le Rayon d'Egypte,* Sept. 16, 1956).

The incredible violence which flared up against the Greek Orthodox of Constantinople in September 1955 shows that the old Islamic fanaticism is unfortunately not yet extinct.

Precarious Situation of Christian Schools

The hostility against the foreigner is particularly evident with regard to Christian schools which are in great part under the direction of foreign missionaries. It appears that the attack directed against these schools, a thing which is manifest in all the Arab countries, is due solely to the instigation of the Arab League. Christian schools are looked upon as an obstacle to national unity. The organ of the Arab movement for liberation, *Al Tahrir* (*Liberation*), in October 1956 bitterly attacked the schools conducted by foreign missionaries and accused them of opposing Arab culture and of dedicating themselves — under the pretext of education — to imperialistic propaganda. It is undeniable that in the past these schools have seriously neglected Arab culture: but at the present time, however, one cannot designate them simply as « foreign schools ». The College of the Holy Family in Cairo, for instance, which is conducted by French Jesuits numbers among its eighty-six teachers no less than sixty-two Egyptians. Of the 325 students belonging to the higher classes, 246 have chosen the scholastic program in Arabic and only 79 (49 of them foreigners) decided in favor of the French curriculum.

Scholastic legislation in the different Arab countries in an ever increasing degree restricts the liberty of the Christian schools. In the case of Syria, attention can be called to decree number 175, enacted March 18, 1952, which with reason was termed « the law of educational dictatorship ». In consequence of this, the entire Christian hierarchy, in a letter addressed to the president of the State on July 5, 1956, demanded the abolition of the decree because it imposed insupportable burdens on Christians and because it threatened the very existence of their schools. The hierarchy protested against the official text books which attack Christianity and which sow hatred and discord among the citizens of the country. It further deplored the partiality of state school inspectors

and demanded the setting up of a commission to prepare a new scholastic law (*Proche Orient Chrétien,* 1956, pp. 282 ff.). In fact, such a commission was later appointed.

In Jordan a new educational measure dating from April 16, 1955, places notable restrictions on the liberty of teaching and has given rise to serious anxiety.

In Egypt, Statute number 38, passed on August 18, 1948, already subjected the schools, with its even harsher norms of execution, to the complete control of the State. This was followed by the decree of April 16, 1956, which categorically demands the teaching of the Islamic religion to Moslem students in Christian schools. As was to be expected, this measure provoked a well-justified agitation, but Catholic schools ultimately had to yield to this obnoxious disposition, for the sake of their very existence. The teaching of Islam is now conducted in a separate part of the school building. A further appendage to this law was made recently which forbids the recitation of Christian prayers in the school in the event that even only one Moslem student is present.

The Suez crisis caused a serious threat to the numerous schools in the care of French religious communities. The Apostolic Internuncio to Egypt, Msgr. Silvio Oddi, succeeded, however, in obtaining government approbation for these schools as Catholic institutions dependent on the Vatican. In Syria the case was quite otherwise. There the government placed all the schools run by foreign religious under the direction of Moslems, explaining that it was a measure to protect them against the possible charge that they were foreign institutions. The Maronites, in turn, were refused permission to open a new school at Homs. The Sisters of the Most Sacred Heart, as well, were also refused permission to found a school in the High Gezira on the strange grounds that the Arabic character of that region had to be safeguarded. For the government, in effect, ' Arabic ' is still synonomous with ' Moslem '.

Secularizing Tendencies in Islamism

In all this there appears to be still at work the traditional conduct of Moslems towards Christians. As we have already indicated, however, there are certain modern tendencies revealing themselves in Islamism which could radically change its attitude in regard to Christianity. This is the case in modern Turkey where such tendencies have succeeded in establishing themselves in a very radical manner. None the less, it cannot be said that Christians there are exceptionally well-off. Certainly, it is most improbable that the Arab states will quickly follow the example

of Ataturk who so thoroughly secularized his country. In any case, even in the Arab world modern ideas are managing to take root. The struggle against their own tribunals and the special legislation for religious communities, already carried on by the Wafd party under the former regime, is based on the conception of the modern state which does not tolerate states within the state.

Such considerations led to the abolition of religious tribunals in Tunisia in August, 1956. The state must no longer be subdivided into religious communities which at the same time are social organisms, and in a certain sense even national; it should rather become one compact national state. In that case religion can no longer serve as a motive of discrimination.

That already in 1945 Syria abolished the practice of indicating one's confession on his identification card, which up until then had been obligatory, is a manifestation of the same tendency. In Syria it was the dictator Shishakli himself, later deposed in February 1954, who cleared the ground of confessionalism. At the session which marked the opening of Parliament on October 24, 1953, he declared that the intention of his regime was to seek its inspiration from modern democratic tradition alone. It was his wish to create a united nation, a national conscience which would be common to all the adherents of the various confessions, for whom fidelity to their inherited religion, to their proper rite, had up until then taken the place of patriotism.

During the period of preparation preceding the drawing up of the constitution of 1953, the nationalistic Syrian organ *Al-Bina* advocated the complete separation of religion from the state and energetically attacked the tendency of religious auhorities to exert a determining influence in all the various social spheres. The publication openly supports the principles of the French Revolution as the very basis of modern democracy.

New Matrimonial Legislation in Tunisia

Even without such a radical, secular reversal of things there should be possible a development within Islamism towards more modern conceptions of the state which would permit a real equality for Christians. A concrete basis for such hopes is furnished by the reform of legislation dealing with marriage and the family which was approved in Tunisia last summer. This revision entailed among other things the abolition of polygamy, the restriction of divorce, and the significant decision permitting marriage between a non-Moslem and a Moslem woman. This implies legal equality at least in regard to matrimony. This step may be considered as

being revolutionary for a Moslem state, and it shows that equality between confessions is being taken seriously. All this notwithstanding, however, there is apparently no intention of following the lead of Ataturk.

What is desired is a reform within the framework of Islamism with no intention of simply liberating oneself from the religion of the Prophet. In August 1956 the president of Tunisia, Habib Burghiba, declared: « Islamism has freed the spirit and has recommended man to meditate on religious precepts, in order to adapt them to the development of mankind ... This reform, despite the fact that it may be revolutionary and modern, has been effected with the approbation and the collaboration of the guardians of tradition and of the faith, of outstanding jurists and teachers of Islam » (*Etudes,* cic., 1956, p. 461). As one might expect, opposition to the reform was voiced by groups which were strongly bound to tradition.

Promises of Equality for Christians in Pakistan

In October 1956, the new president of the Pakistan Council of Ministers, Hussein Suhrawardy, in a reassuring declaration made to the Christian minority stated that all the complexities of the majority and minority based on the diversity of confessions should disappear. He declared further that he had made the decision to bring confessional discrimination to an end. In this connection the president asserted: « In my opinion Islam comprehends within itself all that is good and noble. It we follow the way of justice, of truth, of honor, of tolerance, of love, and of dedication to all men, we shall be acting according to the great ideas of Islamism. We are Mohammedans, and the principles of Islam are dear to us. Let us be on our guard, however, not to use them solely for the purpose of justifying or of condemning » (*Informations Catholiques Intern.,* Nov. 1, 1956, p. 11).

Pakistan, nevertheless, unquestionably wishes to remain a Moslem state, as was explicitly established in the new constitution adopted on February 2, 1956. Yet there is the will to grant full parity of rights to Christians.

A More Modern Conception of Islamic Relations with Christians

Islamism finds itself, in fact, involved in such a process of intrinsic transformation that the possibility is not excluded of the revision of its traditional conception regarding the position of the *dhimmi* within Mohammedan society. Indeed, the relationship of

Islamic states with the rest of the world has already undergone a considerable change.

According to the strict Mohammedan tradition, the world is subdivided into two spheres: the *dar el-islam* (the land of Islam) and the *dar el-harb* (the land of warfare). Moslems have the sacred duty of subjecting the land of the infidels to the kingdom of God by means of the sword. Between themselves and the rest of the world there exists a continual state of war which only occasionally can be interrupted by an armistice. In practice, however, Moslems and non-Moslems associate with one another in international institutions and with the same rights; the perpetual holy war has for a long time now given place to a peaceful coexistence. If such a change has been possible in the field of international relations, it is not difficult to imagine a similar development in the matter of relations with the Christian minorities to be found within the Arab nations. There are sufficient signs present to indicate a favorable development in this direction.

We have seen how in Syria the Moslem press protested almost unanimously against a case of religious discrimination. In the same country voices were raised also against declaring Islamism the religion of the state, and this even from the ranks of the Moslems themselves. There was, for example, the article of the Moslem publicist, Negib Rayes, which appeared in the Damascus newspaper *Al-Qabas* for January 31, 1950, and which declared that the establishment of Islamism as the religion of the state would violate the rights of the Christian communities. Progressive political leaders, a large number of students, of young people, and of government officials did not wish to hear of Islam as the religion of the nation. In actual fact, the projected proclamation was not made. The tenor of the whole discussion showed that there is observable a welcome change in the relations between Moslems and Christians.

Equality between Christians and Moslems in the Lebanon

In the Lebanon, where there is a slight Christian majority, a full parity of rights has been established between Christians and the followers of Mohammed. It could well be that the particular mission of the Lebanon is that of proving to the world the possibility of such equality.

The pristine theocracy of Islamism is therefore capable of accomodating itself to a system of equality with citizens of different confessions within the same state. In Lebanon the actual relations between Christians and Moslems are becoming ever more satis-

factory. This can be seen from what the new Maronite patriarch, Paul Meouchi, said to a group of Moslem visitors who came from the Mohammedan quarter of Beirut: « If you should come upon a fanatical Maronite, do not hesitate to assault him ». To this the visitors said in reply: « If we find a fanatical Moslem we will treat him even more severely ». On the occasion of the *Pax Romana* congress at Beirut last year, the patriarch declared that Lebanon would orient itself still further towards an even friendly coexistence between Christians and Moslems. But of course this does not mean that there is no longer any friction.

Arab nationalism, which at the present time is under high tension, would wish to create at all costs a compact front of all the Arab peoples. Doubtless, the existence of Christian minorities constitutes an obstacle to this. The barrier could be eliminated if the centuries-old identification of Islam with Arabism were to be broken. As we have seen, one can with reason hope that the Mohammedan world will, by an intrinsic development, eventually come to accept the equality of Christians.

Danger of Forceful Assimilation of Christians

In any case, there is a danger that the Arab states, under the influence of their exaggerated nationalism, may take anoteh means to create an absolute national unity, namely, that of a more or less enforced assimilation of Christian groups. It is unfortunately true that some Christians sooner or later yield to the constant social and economic pressure which still wieghs heavily upon them and pass over to the fold of Islam, the one dominant and truly national religion, in order to cease being strangers in their own land and to become citizens on an equal level with the majority. It is estimated, for example, that some 3000 dissident Copts become Mohammedans every year. And at a meeting of the Catholic hierarchy at Aleppo in 1955, the bishops lamented the increasing number of cases of apostasy from the faith.

In this connection the *Bulletin of the Middle East Institute* of Washington for April 1953 reported: « In Syria the ' Arab Movement for Liberation ' is on the point of following a more or less chauvinistic tendency, corresponding to the policy of the regime (of Shishakli), namely, to assimilate by force the religious and national minorities of the country. The minorities are a considerable proportion of the population of Northern Syria. This policy is manifested in a series of decrees designed to bring about the disappearance of the various minority groups — Assyrians, Armenians, Kurds, Catholic and Orthodox Arabs — to render in this way the whole po-

pulation homogenous, bringing it to the surrender of its own personality and to lose itself in the Moslem majority ». The ' Arab Movement for Liberation ' « had the duty of bringing this policy to realization ».

The Hope of Christian Groups

At all events, we must not abandon hope that one day the present wave of extreme nationalism will dissipate itself and that then the undeniable tendencies and existing developments in the Arab world will ultimately lead to a genuine tolerance towards Christians. One. possibility would be that of a clear-cut distinction between the Mohammedan religion and public life, and this in a secular sense. This would be a very real advantage for the Christian communities.

Shortly before the last war, in fact, the Arabian Catholic newspaper, *Al-Bachir,* which is published at Beirut, gave prominence to the following quasi challenge to Moslems on its front page: « The only salvation for Syria lies in the establishment of a secular government at Damascus ».

When Nasser dissolved the Moslem Brethren in 1954, the Coptic journalist, Salame Mussa, wrote: « What we must have is a secular state ». Certainly, for us Catholics the secular state is not the ideal. But because under the present circumstances in the Middle East the state cannot be a Christian one, a secular regime would constitute the lesser evil in the face of a community dominated entirely by Islamism, in which Christians could but with difficulty attain to an equality with Mohammedans. As we have already indicated, a still better solution would be an evolution within the Arab countries towards a more democratic conception of society without secularization of the State.

The Christians of the Middle East today find themselves almost completely alone. They can no longer, as in the past, count upon the protection of the West; in fact, they themselves generally have no desire for it. They would like to be respectable Arabs and loyal citizens with a genuine love for their country. As Christians, it is their duty — without closing their eyes to the dangers which still beset them — to have confidence in their fellow Moslem citizens and to collaborate with all their strength for the cultural, economic, and social renascence of their nation. Thus will they assure themselves of the esteem and the sympathy of thoughtful Moslems. It seems to us that today this is the only feasible way to ensure the future destiny of Christianity in the Middle East.

WILLIAM DE VRIES, S. J.

COMMENTS AND DOCUMENTS

Each year the January Octave of prayer furnishes an auspicious occasion for unionistic endeavor in many countries throughout the world. Side by side with the religious services and prayers which are offered everywhere for the reunion of Christendom, there is a truly remarkable flowering of articles, conferences, and various other activities centering about the theme of Christian unity.

The documentary section of this issue of Unitas *is accordingly devoted to a report of one or another of these endeavors. The first of these is a translation of the Octave pastoral of His Excellency, Giovanni Battista Montini, Archbishop of Milan; the second, an article by Fr. Charles Boyer, S. J., appearing in the French Catholic newspaper* La Croix *for January* 22; *the third, excerpts from an address by Fr. Bernard Leeming, S. J., delivered at the interdenominational meeting at St. Pancras Town Hall, London; and fourthly, the conclusion of an article by Michael Richards, written for the English Dominican review, the* Life of the Spirit, *which dedicated its first number for this year to the subject of Christian unity.*

ARCHBISHOP MONTINI'S PASTORAL LETTER

This year again the Octave of Prayer for the unity of the Church has been proclaimed, and it will be observed in our diocese likewise from the 18th to the 25th of January. The scope of this observance is so important and so difficult that it commends itself to the attention of all the clergy, both diocesan and religious, and of all the faithful.

It is the important because unity between those who believe in Christ is the perfection of the saving work established by Christ Himself: 'that they all may be one' was His supreme invocation before giving His life for the redemption of the human race. It is important for the salvation of very many souls if one understands the significance — consoling on the one hand and tremendous on the other — of the principle 'outside the Church there is no salvation'. It is important, furthermore, because it gives to the world the most solid and the most logical basis for peace, for the unity of faith, and for a spiritual order: it bestows on Christian civilization a prestige and an awareness of itself, together with the capacity of a perpetual renewal and a beneficent diffusion of itself.

It is of moment because charity should reign on earth, a charity between peoples and between men which does not content itself with the practice of tolerance among themselves and the promotion of vague and occasional programs of assistance, but which makes of every need and of every human misery the object of common interest; which gives to men the solace of a deep mutual understanding, of fraternal affection, of the recognition of one another as equals, and — in matters of greatest import — of possessing the same manner of thinking, of praying, and of acting. The Octave is of concern because every Christian should consider his religion not as an equivocal, uncertain, and arbitrary means of relating himself to God and to the highest values of life, but as a light that is sure, everlasting, authoritative, and felicitous for all ...

The scope of the Octave is difficult, for the divisions of Christendom are deep and inveterate. National and ethnic feeling has rendered them characteristic; the history of centuries has confirmed them; an interminable polemic has embittered them; an immense network of practical interests has nourished them; an utter confusion of ideas, of sects, of errors, and of good and bad faith has given them giant proportions. The task is a hard one in view of the fact that the return to the unity of the Church is now practically feasible for individuals alone; we cannot yet see the possibility of the simultaneous return of entire peoples. It is arduous because we ourselves, as children who have remained in the paternal household, do not even know how to summon and how to bring back those who are far from us; and perhaps in their regard we have neither clearly professed the true faith in word and deed, nor have we humbly explored practical means of making the way easier for their return. The matter, finally, is difficult because, in substance, the decisive and salutary movements of the soul depend on the grace of God, and this God bestows with a mysterious liberty, although He does not deny it to prayer that is made well. Still our prayer has not yet merited this miraculous favor.

Hence it is that all of us are invited to reflect, to pray, to love, in view of this fundamental problem of the spiritual history of the world. All of us are called upon to do so — and together.

At Milan this year an interesting and copious program has been drawn up, and this has already been given publicity. But it is our wish that in all the parishes some ceremony be held and some explanation be given to the faithful on questions relating to the Unity of the Church.

We likewise exhort the oratories and churches belonging to religious orders to make arrangements for some religious service in keeping with this end. Nor should educational institutes, hospitals,

and other organizations fail to associate themselves with this particular prayer; so also the various Catholic associations. For this is a matter of interest to all — a common duty. To heed this invitation will be an index of sound religious sensibility and of Catholic discipline. It is addressed to all — individually and collectively: « Cor unum et anima una ».

This is characteristic of the Church. To our Church of the Ambrosian Rite, which is ever conscious of this truth, we extend our invitation and our blessing.

* * *

OUR SEPARATED BRETHREN

« Separated brethren » — this is how Catholics prefer to call non-Catholic Christians, both of the East and the West. What a wealth of thought, of memory, and of sentiment is contained in these words! In fact, if one were to spend the entire Octave of prayer for unity in meditating on its richness of content, he would still fail to exhaust it.

Although separated from us, these Christans are yet our brothers. Two sons of the same mother rarely have had so many characteristics in common as there are between us Catholics and those of the dissident Eastern Churches: the same faith in the Christian mysteries (except for the Procession of the Holy Spirit), the same devotion to the Mother of God, the same Sacraments, the same Eucharist. A rather considerable number of Anglicans, too, have either preserved or resumed very many of these common characteristics. One can see these Anglicans entering our Catholic churches, signing themselves with holy water, even genuflecting on both knees at exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, and either reciting or singing the *Tantum Ergo* in English.

Other Christians who have been more affected by the Reformation — and here we have in mind the greater number of Protestants — have preserved at least one fundamental principle of the Catholic faith: they acknowledge the divinity of Our Lord Jesus Christ. How much indeed does this distinguish them from the mass of unbelievers, from atheists, or deists in vague sort of way, whose negations fill up the space of so many newspapers and periodicals. To adore, love, and imitate the God-Man — this is truly a profound engagement! And how can it be that all who take on this obligation are not our brothers?

We can also understand those who take part in the assemblies of the World Council of Churches when they affirm that a certain

unity of Christians has already been realized. The public and common profession of basic truths is in fact, a spiritual bond; truth possesses a unitive force, even when it is not yet complete.

But this unity, with which one may certainly be gratified, is nevertheless not the unity of the Church of Christ. The latter is more demanding: it claims for itself the same integral faith, the same worship, and the same government.

The same faith — this is what the French Protestant leader, Marc Boegner, has discovered in the texts of Sacred Scripture which, he tells us, « speak to us of but one Church of Christ, whose visible unity is one part of the witness which she must render to her Lord. And this is so because there is but one Lord, one faith, and one Baptism ... » (*Le problème de l'unité chrétienne*, p. 129). Now it is a fact that all non-Catholics differ from us in faith. They are truly separated from us, not only because they have not submitted themselves to the authority of the Catholic Church — a matter which constitutes the essence of schism — but also because this refusal of submission presupposes the refusal to acknowledge some point of the Catholic faith, at least the authority of the Pope. It is therefore in matters of faith that we are separated.

Now the genuine unity of the Church, that for which Jesus prayed after the Last Supper, and that which the prayers of the January Octave call for, is the unity of all in one and the same faith. The one sole Church can have but one faith alone.

It is basically this truth which gives rise to what one could term the drama of the World Council, composed as it is by a group of confessions not sharing the same faith. When spokesmen for the Council speak of the Church, but by that term do not intend the one Roman Catholic Church, where can they find that unique faith which is the mark of the Church of Christ? In any case, they are compelled either to infer that the some 170 denominations which make up the Council are in some way in the Church, or else to hold that the Church of Jesus Christ no longer exists in actuality. The Church of Rome alone can maintain in all coherence, by manifesting herself in her past as well as in her present reality, that the Church founded by the omnipotent Christ still lives and that it is one in faith. Those who no longer possess this faith in its entirety can doubtless be our brethren — but brethren who are separated from us.

CHARLES BOYER, S. J.

* * *

PRAYING FOR UNITY

« To speak about the ' unity of Christians ' embarks us upon a veritable sea of agitated questions. We are navigating in difficult waters; there are many cross-currents, many hidden rocks, many a sudden squall.

« 1. Even to talk about the subject is difficult. If one is frank and forthright, one gives offence. If one is gentle and conciliatory, one may mislead or encourage complacency. If one speaks benevolent platitudes, everyone is bored.

« 2. The very language to use is hard to choose. Beneath seemingly innocent language lurk whole religious outlooks: the word ' Protestant ', the word ' Catholic ', the word ' Orthodox ', the word ' Free Churchman ' — each of them carries suggestions which some find offensive.

« 3. Even the expression ' prayer for unity ' opens chasms of controversy ».

« The late Abbé Couturier, whom so many esteemed and loved, tried to solve the difficulty by suggesting that we should all pray for that unity which Christ willed. Now this is excellent, as far as it goes. But it may easily seem to cover divergencies which everyone feels and cannot help but feel ... Indeed, all must feel that when they pray for unity among Christians, they are praying that all who are in error may be enlightened and leave the error to embrace the truth. Certainly, we Catholics — or Roman Catholics (for clearness) — when we pray for unity do not suppose that the Church of Christ has ceased to be one and must become one. Unity, we hold, is not a thing to be attained; it is a reality in actual and recognizable existence. We pray ' for our separated brethren that with us in the one true fold they may be united to the chief shepherd, the Vicar of Christ'.

« The invitation to prayer, then, looks almost as if we were all praying, at least in part, against one another.

« 4. In more than one quarter a certain impatience is evident about the whole question of the ' reunion ' of the Churches The ecumenical movement has gone on for a considerable number of years. There have been great assemblies, learned disquisitions, a terrific amount of talk — and the results may seem small. Indeed, not a few leaders of the movement have publicly declared that a certain impasse has been reached on doctrinal matters. The same topics were discussed at Lausanne in 1927, at Edinburgh in 1937,

at Amsterdam in 1948, at Lund in 1952, and at Evanston in 1954. A certain air of weariness is apparent, at least in some quarters.

« 5. One odd result of the ecumenical movement has been not only to reveal subtle and unexpected antagonisms, but even to strengthen denominational allegiances, and increase what may be called local loyalty. Some fear a pan-Christian indifferentism which would not help any Christian community; many fear that their ' distinctive witness ' might be lost or lessened.

« Now these difficulties — and there are others besides — are great and formidable. Should they discourage us? Should they quench in our hearts a burning zeal that ' all may be one '? Not in the slightest. In one sense they ought to encourage us. When God's cause is in question, the greater the difficulty, the greater the hope. For our hope is in nothing human; it is in God.

« St. Paul says in his first letter to the Corinthians: ' The foolishness of God is wiser than men ... and the weakness of God is stronger than men ... the foolish things of the world hath God chosen that he may confound the wise; and the weak things of the world hath God chosen that he may confound the strong. And the base things of the world, and the things that are contemptible, hath God chosen and the things that are not, that he might bring to naught things that are: that no flesh may glory in his sight ' (I Cor. 1: 25-20).

« What we pray for ... is not something that is based upon human wisdom or human contrivance or even upon human virtue: it is based upon the will of God. We do not rely upon the fervour of our prayers or upon our self-discipline or our holiness; we rely upon God's wisdom and God's power. And so our hope and our trust is without limits. It is not to be judged by human calculation or by human standards. Its only norm is the height and the depth and the length and the breadth of the charity which burns in the heart of Christ.

« Tertullian, writing towards the end of the second century, is sometimes supposed to have said *Credo quia impossibile* — I believe it because it is impossible. He did not say anything so silly as that; what he did say was: ' I believe it because it seems impossible to wordly minds. I believe in the Incarnation of the Son of God, and I have an additional reason for believing because mere human reason thinks it impossible and unworthy of God '.

« We may become somewhat like Tertullian and say: ' We admit all the difficulties in bringing all men to the one faith, one Lord, one baptism. We admit that humanly speaking it seems not only difficult but even impossible. But the greater the difficulties, no, even the greater the human impossibility, the greater shall be our

hope in God. ' Where sin abounded, grace did more abound '. And grace will more abound.

« God answers prayers in ways that sometimes we do not expect. It is a commonplace that God not seldom answers a prayer to be relieved of a burden not by taking away the burden, but by giving strength to bear it ».

« Therefore with humble and contrite hearts we proclaim the need of prayer to God that all disunion may cease. This meeting, as I understand it, is not meant to elicit declarations about theology or policy or ways of proceeding. It is a declaration that in the work of bringing all men to Christ, we must trust God first, last and always. Faith is God's gift: ' For unto you it is given for Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him ' (Phil. 1: 29). ' For by grace you are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God ' (Eph. 2: 8). ' Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves, but our sufficiency is from God ' (2 Cor. 3: 5). Our hope is from God: ' And hope confoundeth not: because the charity of God is poured forth in our hearts, through the Holy Ghost who is given to us ' (Rom. 5: 5). To love God is the gift of God.

« This meeting, moreover, is a common declaration that we refuse to acquiesce in the existing divisions between Christians: that such divisions are contrary to God's will; and that with God's help we shall all try to bring all to the truth of Christ which alone can make men free.

« As to the difficulty of speech about unity, if I, or anyone else, speak imprudently, why those who are wise can correct me in charity. If it happen that I wound you by what looks like harsh language, why, we are Christian men, and you must forgive me, as you hope to be forgiven. The ecumenical movement — yes it has been, and doubtless can be, criticized by many from differing points of view. But the movement, whatever its defects, is a new phenomenon in Christian history, in that it manifests a yearning, such as did not exist before, for complete unity among Christians. (Boyer, *Gregorianum*, XXXV, 4 (1954), p. 3). It is a new force, drawing the different communions out of their isolation and urging them to seek a common ground of understanding (ibid. p. 4). In it we can see the working of the breath of the Holy Spirit, through the prayers of the faithful, as the Holy Office of Rome declared. New horizons have been opened, new outlooks created, a new interest in the unity of Christendom has arisen. These carry with them not only great hopes, but great responsibilities. No one must be misled by easy formulas or by compromise of Christ's truth: we must bear our witness with unswerving fidelity ... »

Fr. Bernard Leeming, S. J.

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* * *

THE CATHOLIC CONVERT AND CHRISTIAN UNITY

« ...The fact remains that the convert has got particular responsibilities, and that these lie for a large part in the field of Christian unity. He will have, and should keep, many friends outside the Church; his very separation from them provides a spur to work for unity, and he and they are channels by which better information may spread, in both directions, about the problems that are involved. Very often he will want to explain himself to the members of the Church from which he has come; but since his joining the Church probably represents the solution of a theological problem which was to some extent a personal one, most of his former brethren will listen, if they listen at all, with incomprehension. He must beware of thinking that many others will follow by the same road as he. He must beware, too, of making his thinking and speaking about the Church one long justification for his conversion. But he should certainly be able to present Catholicism in a way which he knows will have some meaning for those whom he has left behind; that will involve the effort of not losing touch with their problems and trying all the time to discern where the blind spot lies which prevents them from seeing that the Church itself is the answer to all their questioning about Christian unity. There is a false spirituality to be found in ecumenical circles which talks about ' bearing the pain of separation ' and looks upon joining the Church as an easy way out; the convert is particularly well qualified to provide the corrective, and can point out that since the Unity of the Church has already been won by Christ's Passion, the true participation in his suffering comes when we uproot ourselves to accept his gift, the gift of his Body; to remain in a state of separation is, instead, to inflict pain on him and to avoid accepting it ourselves.

« The convert can do a service, also, to his fellow-Catholics by continually reminding them, out of his own experience, that Christians separated from the Church have, nevertheless, a living faith in Christ, and that we should speak to that faith, seeking to build it up, and not thinking continually in terms of the illogicality or the inadequacy of what we conceive to be their belief. Loyalty to Christ in the Church is better expressed in the attempt to discern and to welcome every vestige of Christian faith, wherever it may be found, than in belittling its value in order to confute it more easily or to bolster up our own position.

« There may seem little that is positive here, and it may even appear discouraging to anyone approaching the Church or just in-

side it. But I believe it is the sort of thing which needs to be said to those who are trying to discover an approach to work for Christian unity and who are trying to fit the Catholic Church in somewhere. Such people may even think that they have seen the point about Catholicism, but that it is their duty to work where they are for the time being. A Catholic can only say to such people that they have not yet in reality understood the Church, which will resist all their efforts at comprehension as long as they regard it as one among many Churches needing re-union. As soon as full faith comes, they will kneel before the Church as so many of them kneel before the Blessed Sacrament, and ask our Lord to take them in.

« For in work for Christian unity, as in everything else, Christ's great principle applies: ' The man who tries to save his life shall lose it; it is the man who loses his life for my sake that will secure it ' (Matt. 16, 25). The convert must leave all behind; and in the measure to which he does, his previous experience will be available to our Lord to use as he wills. It is because we cling to our human traditions that Christian unity seems so far way, and all of us, Catholics included, must let past history, which represents our old selves, die if English Christians, and those millions of Englishmen who have no faith, are to find reconciliation in Christ. The convert's principal contribution to Christian unity is made by being converted; his further conversion, revealing the nature of the Church to those who still seek unity, will be the best thing he can offer to the ecumenical cause ».

MICHAEL RICHARDS

ECUMENISM AND REUNION

London Meeting on Christian Unity

On January 17 the Council for the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity organized a meeting to encourage prayer during the Unity Octave. It was held in St. Pancras Town Hall and was attended by some 600 or more people, including many clerics, some of them Roman Catholic. The chairman was the Anglican Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Harry Carpenter, and the speakers were: the Rev. Bernard Leeming, S. J., the Rev. Martin Shepherd, Congregationalist, Miss Helle Georgiadis, Orthodox, and the Rev. Colin Stephenson, Anglican.

Dr. Carpenter opened the meeting with a short address, stressing the importance of prayer for the realization of unity. An account of Fr. Leeming's discourse appears elsewhere in this issue. The Rev. Martin Shepherd, in his turn, explained that Congregationalists had an association numbering some 40,000 whose purpose primarily was to pray for the missions, but now included prayer for Christian unity. He mentioned Dr. Isaac Watts's *Guide to Prayer,* which is highly esteemed among Congregationalists, and discussed the liturgical and ex tempore prayers used by them.

Miss Georgiadis spoke of the Communion of Saints, beginning with St. Paul and with a gentle force showed how prayer to the Saints and to Our Lady, the Mother of God, was a necessary implication of the most ancient Christian conviction. She emphasized the unity of the Church militant and the Church triumphant, and her words were listened to most attentively.

The Rev. Colin Stephenson began by protesting his loyalty to the Church of England, as by law established, and his pride in being a member of it. But he then went on to explain that this loyalty did not prevent his deep regret at many events which have marked its history. He regretted the persecutions which through diverse causes had come about; and said that for his part he would like to see Anglican pilgrimages to Tyburn, to express sorrow and desire to atone for the persecutions which took place there; and similar pilgrimages by Roman Catholics to the Martyrs' Memorial at Oxford, to express similar regret. He ended with an appeal that prejudice and resentments should cease.

The speakers manifested not only friendliness, but even cordiality towards one another. The meeting ended with the prayer for

unity approved in the Roman Catholic Church, a pause for silent prayer, and then the common recitation of the Our Father, ending, on the instruction of the Bishop of Oxford, with the words ' deliver us from evil, Amen '. All present stood most reverently, clearly impressed by the prayerful spirit which had animated all the addresses.

Another meeting on « Praying for Unity » was held during the Octave at Balliol College Hall, Oxford. There the speakers were: Canon Eric Abbott, Anglican; Miss Helle Georgiadis, secretary of the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius; the Rev. Ronald Pilkington, Roman Catholic; and the Rev. Donald Lee, Methodist.

Anglican Editorial Urges Prayer for Unity

Typical of editorials in Catholic and non-Catholic publications alike in connection with the January Octave was the one appearing in the *Church of England Newspaper* for January 18. In it the editor urged all Christian groups in England to participate in this prayer movement for the unity of Christendom.

« ' How slow Christian reunion is in coming! ' is a common complaint on the lips of many Christians », begins the editorial, « especially those who feel most deeply the sin of disunion among the followers of Jesus Christ. But it is a mistaken complaint, even though it does its makers credit, for what is most remarkable about the movement for Christian unity is not its slowness, but the rapidity of its advance.

« Such a statement will astonish many people, but only because they have not appreciated the immense obstacles of time, temperament, sin, and ignorance which stand between what Christians should be in principle and what they are in practice. When these factors are weighed, the progress in the movement is seen for what it is, namely, a miracle of God's grace, transforming the minds and spirits of His people ».

« In the last twenty years alone », the newspaper continued, « there has been a vast spread of the spirit of unity among Christians of all traditions, most notably perhaps during this period among Christians who are of the Roman Catholic Church. This is a phenomenon of great import for Christendom as a whole, as is any movement which affects the attitudes of the Roman Catholic Church. We are all bound together in Christendom, especially when Christendom is contrasted with the heathen worlds of Asia or the great masses of secularist materialists. Anything which spreads a spirit of understanding and closer fellowship between Roman Catholics and

other Christians must be unfeignedly welcomed when it is an expression of the spirit of Christ's love ».

Noted French Jesuit Discusses Scripture and Tradition

One of the principal events in France in conjunction with the Unity Octave was an outstanding conference delivered in Paris by Fr. Jean Danielou, S. J. Entitled « Écriture et tradition dans le dialogue entre les Chretiens séparés », the lecture took place in the auditorium of the Sociétés Savantes under the presidency of His Eminence, Cardinal Maurice Feltin, Archbishop of Paris.

In the course of his conference, Fr. Danielou, who is a professor at the Institut Catholique, discussed the nature and the authority of Christian tradition, giving particular emphasis to the thesis that ecclesiastical tradition is a continuation of that deriving from the Apostles and enjoying the same authority. On this point the lecturer showed how he was obliged to differ from the conclusions of Dr. Oscar Cullmann, the well-known French Lutheran theologian. Yet he paid tribute to the latter's scholarly endeavor by saying: « The admirable honesty with which Dr. Cullmann has affirmed his positions despite the inquietude which their Catholic character has given to certain Protestants, simply because they seem true to him, is a striking example of that sincere research which alone can bring about the furtherance of unity ».

Fr. Danielou next treated at some length of the notion of tradition among the Orthodox and then devoted the latter part of his lecture to an exposition of how Scripture and Tradition actually complemented one another. He showed how new doctrinal definitions were not new Revelations, but the explanation of Revelation given once and for all to the Apostles and transmitted by them both by Scripture and Tradition.

« I would say in conclusion », declared Fr. Danielou, « that this discussion (among separated Christians) appears to be imbued with hope. In effect, it is an outgrowth of that desire for unity which is the constant concern of Christians. Faced by a divided world, they feel painfully how their own divisions prevent them from witnessing to unity; that unity which Christ willed we believe to be possible ... and one which the Holy Spirit can bring to realization. But if God alone can bring it about, He will not do so without us. And this is why it falls on all of us to do our part by prayer, by study, and by charity ».

French Protestant Leader Writes on Prayer for Unity

Writing in the weekly review *Le christianisme au XXe siècle,* for January 10, Pastor Marc Boegner, president of the Protestant Federation of France, and a former president of the World Council of Churches, has some interesting observations to make regarding organized movements of prayer for Christian unity, from the Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox points of view. He brings into relief how these in practice differ from one another.

« Nevertheless », concludes Dr. Boegner, « in the mind of those who observe the Week of Prayer for the Unity of Christians, there is to be found a fundamental conviction which is common to all, namely, that we no longer accept as normal the actual division of the churches as corresponding either to the plan of God or to the will of Christ with regard to ' His Body which is the Church '. On the contrary, we accept that exigency for the Unity of the Church which is vibrant in the priestly prayer (of Christ) as well as in apostolic teaching, and together we ask God in humility and faith to inspire our churches and ourselves in such wise that on the royal way of faithfulness to the truth inseparable from love, we may walk together towards the day when the insuperable chasms of today will be filled over by a miracle of His grace and when those who do not believe (John XVII) will contemplate the Body of Christ in the splendor of its unity ».

Friars Sponsor Unity Conference at Graymoor

Inaugurated by a solemn Mass sung by Fr. Angelus Delahunt, Superior General, the Franciscan Friars of the Atonement eighth annual conference on Christian unity took place at Graymoor, New York, on February 13 and 14. Hitherto, the conference had been held during the summer months, but this year it was decided to meet soon after the completion of the Chair of Unity Octave, so that with it observance fresh in mind, the various problems associated with the Octave could be more effectively considered by the delegates.

In an address to the Friars present, the Father General acknowledged the contribution being made by the community to the cause of Christian unity, but emphasized the need to do much more — and this on a year-round basis. The fact that the Society of the Atonement was committed to the unity apostolate, he said, made it imperative for the Friars to be experts on the the different questions related to matters of reunion. There was need, he pointed

out, for a scientific handling of pertinent material, and for this reason he commended the recently organized Catholic Ecumenical Institute at the Friars' major seminary in Weshington.

Following the Father General's discourse, three papers were read at the conference. These were: « An Evaluation of the Concept of Unity » by Fr. Edward Hanahoe, S. A.; « The Vision of Fr. Paul Wattson », by Fr. Titus Cranny, S. A.; and « St. Pius X and Christian Unity », by Fr. Jerome Gallagher, S. A. One of the sessions, likewise, was given over to an interesting panel discussion on the topic: « Means of Implementing the Unity Octave ». To this the principal contributors were: Fr. Colman Gallacher, Fr. De Sales Standerwick, and Fr. Cuthbert Micali, all of the Society of the Atone ment.

Christian Unity Institute Inaugurated at Pittsburgh

An institute bearing the name of SS. Cyril and Methodius has recently been established at Pittsburgh for the purpose of co-ordinating efforts towards Christian reunion. The organization has been founded on the initiative of His Excellency, Nicholas T. Elko, Apostolic Exarch of the Byzantine Rite Diocese of Pittsburgh.

A building has been acquired for the institute and is now in the process of being accomodated to serve as a unity center for conferences and publications of a doctrinal and liturgical nature. A particular effort will be made to acquaint a wider public with the character and significance of the Eastern Rites. There is already a weekly televised transmission of the Byzantine Rite Liturgy from the Church of St. John Chrysostom in Pittsburgh, and further programs are being planned.

Among the collaborators in the venture are the Franciscan Friars of the Atonement, the community founded by Fr. Paul Wattson, originator of the Chair of Unity Octave.

The institute has met with the approval of Pope Pius, who recently sent a telegram to Bishop Elko, blessing the enterprise.

(*Ansa*)

Noted American Bishop Distinguishes between Prayer and Polemics in Matter of Reunion

It is an encouraging sign that prayer and not mere polemics is now being primarily counted upon « to achieve the reunion with the ancient Church of those millions lost to her unity ». This was a

major point made by His Excellency, Bishop John J. Wright of Worcester in a sermon he delivered in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, at ceremonies marking the Chair of Unity Octave.

Although Bishop Wright lauded the defense of the Catholic faith by polemic as both necessary and good, yet, he said, « it must be clear that polemic by itself has not healed the divisions among Christians and will not bring us far toward the reconciliation so many so earnestly desire ». This latter, he declared, must come about chiefly by prayer.

The Bishop explained that « prayer seeks to do what debate, however brilliant, can never do alone and may on occasion even impede. It brings the warmth of spiritual affection to the lucidity of intellectual conviction. Men can deal coldly with one another in controversy and debate; they cannot in seasons of prayer ». (*NC*)

English Bishop Urges Co-operation between Christian Bodies

Speaking to a gathering of university students in Sheffield, England, late in January, Bishop John Heenan of Leeds advocated a closer collaboration between Christian groups in the face of a common threat from materialistic forces. « In these days », declared Bishop Heenan, « when there is so much irreligion; when, in fact, whole states have made atheism the corner-stone of their political doctrines, this is a time when Christians, whatever their theological differences may be, should draw together and act in concert in order that true Christian principles may be established ».

The Bishop, who appeared as the guest speaker at a meeting of the Students' Union, added: « The Pope makes it a practice, when addressing the world on such subjects as, for example, Hungary, to call on all men of good will, all who are joined in a common belief in God and a common love of Jesus Christ, His Son. There is a union of charity where there can be no possibility of a union of mind ». (*Universe*).

Executive Committee of World Council Meets at Geneva

The Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches met at Geneva for its winter session from February 4 to February 8. The Committee, which is made up of twelve members, meets twice a year to discuss the policy and the various activities of the World Council.

At the meeting which took place at the Council's headquarters in Geneva, the committee members gave their attention to the following questions, among others: the adjournment of the projected conversations with the Patriarchate of Moscow, the Hungarian situation, a program of studies for students for the ministry, and missionary activity in South America. Another topic of discussion concerned the time and place of prospective meetings of the Central and of the Executive Committees. This year the latter will meet again during the summer at Seabury House, England, while the Central Committee will hold its annual sessions at Yale Divinity School early in August.

In his report to the delegates, Dr. W. A. Visser't Hooft, General Secretary of the W. C. C., announced that the Third Assembly of the World Council has been officially invited by the National Christian Council of Ceylon to hold its sessions in that island in 1960. While voicing appreciation for the invitation, the General Secretary said that the final decision would be up to the Central Committee.

Those who participated in the meeting at Geneva were the following members of the Executive Committee: Dr. G. K. A. Bell, Bishop of Chichester, Anglican; Bishop Sante Uberto Barbieri, Methodist, Brazil; Dr. Franklin Clark Fry, Lutheran, of the United States; Dr. Ernest A. Payne, Baptist, United Kingdom; Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Presbyterian, United States; Mrs. Kathleen Bliss, Anglican, United Kingdom; Professor Joseph Hromadka, Church of the Czech Brethren, Czechoslovakia; Bishop James of Philadelphia, representing the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, Turkey; Dr. Martin Niemöller of the Evangelical Church of Germany; and Dr. Liston Pope, Congregationalist, United States. (*EPS*).

Next Lambeth Conference to Discuss Unity Questions

« Church Unity and the Church Universal » will be one of the key topics to be considered by the Bishops of the Anglican Communion when they come together for next year's Lambeth Conference. The meeting will be held in London in July and August, 1958, with over three hundred Anglican bishops from many different countries expected to take part.

An extensive agenda for the Conference, covering subjects ranging from the Bible to the place of the family in present-day society, was recently made public by the Church Information Board of London. As the agenda now stands, the five following headings will form the most important topics for discussion:

1. *The Holy Bible*: its authority and message.

2. *Church Unity and the Church Universal*: the Church and the whole Ecumenical Movement; the reunion schemes for Ceylon and for North India and Pakistan, submitted for consideration by the Church of India, Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon; and relations with particular churches.

3. *Progress within the Anglican Church*: missionary activity; principles of revision for the Book of Common Prayer; recognition of local saints; and ministries.

4. *The Reconciling of Conflicts between and within Nations.*

5. *The Position of the Family in Modern Society*: social threats to family life as the unit of security and religious faith. (*C. E. Newspaper*).

AROUND THE WORLD

ROME

Holy Father Speaks of Rome as the Center of the Church

In an address to a group of newly-ordained Spanish priests in March, Pope Pius XII underlined three main features which characterize priestly training given in Rome. Referring to these qualities under the general designation of « Romanitas », the Holy Father said that for clerical students it meant, first of all: « a singular degree of perfection in all that concerns ... formation »; secondly, it imparted « breadth, width, universality — almost as if ' Romanitas ' were synonymous with Catholicity »; and finally, it brought with it the deep realization that « the center of the Church and the Vicar of Christ, whose mission it is to guide the universal flock, are in Rome ».

« The entire Church of Christ », said the Holy Father, « is a living body, in all the members of which one can easily perceive the pulsations of the unrestrainable abundance which is one of its essential notes. But here in Rome, at the heart of the great organism, why can we not say that the life stream is evident in even greater force? Why can we not say that this living reality is felt and touched — this Catholicity which makes room for all, which fraternizes without distinction of origin or race, this reality which blends all men into one common embrace of ineffable brotherhood?

« Your people, dear sons », continued the Pope, « ... are aware of the fact that the sound of the trumpets which must break down the crumbling walls of petty individual interests is already resounding throughout the world in order to open a vast camp of universality. With your Roman priesthood you can take with you from Rome a greater degree of generous Catholicity which, without depriving the Church in your country of its magnificent characteristics and its rich features, should serve to incorporate them more and more resolutely in those currents of mutual cooperation in which many persons today see the future and the salvation of the world ». (*Oss. Romano*).

* * *

FRANCE

Cardinal Urges Greater Interest in the Scriptures by Catholics

In a pastoral letter to the faithful of his archdiocese on the occasion of the Octave of Prayer in January, His Eminence Maurice Cardinal Feltin, Archbishop of Paris called on Catholics to be as diligent in availing themselves of the great store of wisdom and truth in the Sacred Scriptures as their Protestant brethren are.

« We should take every occasion that presents itself to familiarize ourselves with the Gospels and the other parts of Sacred Scripture », declared the Cardinal. « It is a practice to which our Protestant brethren have remained faithful ».

The letter also emphasized the importance of tradition in the life of the Church and urged Catholics to manifest towards it the deep respect that it merits. In this connection the Cardinal pointed out that the Orthodox accord to tradition the same normative value as those of the Catholic faith. (*NC*)

* * *

SWITZERLAND

Catholic Primate Discusses Religious Tolerance

The tolerance of the Catholic Church towards other churches and religions is not based on opportunism but upon a moral principle making tolerance of others obligatory within the limits of public order.

This was the declaration made by Bishop Francois Charrière of Lausanne, Geneva, and Fribourg, in an address which he delivered to the Catholic students of the University of Lausanne. The topic of the discourse was « The Catholic Church and Religious Tolerance ».

Bishop Charrière, who has been a leading figure in discussions of religious and social issues in Switzerland, declared: « The uncompromising doctrinal attitude of the Catholic Church, far from being an obstacle to religious toleration in everyday life, engenders true respect for our fellowmen, whether they believe in God or not ... It is true that the Catholic Church is opposed to unlimited religious liberty. And for this she is not at fault, since even the

most up-to-date national constitutions and international agreements have set public order and morality as a limit to religious liberty. As Catholics, we should feel no uneasiness because of the uncompromising attitude of the Church on matters of doctrine, since it is this very attitude which is at the root of true understanding and tolerance in daily life ». (*NC*)

* * *

ENGLAND

British Council of Churches Contrary to Moscow Youth Festival

The recent invitation to Christian youth organizations to attend the Sixth World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow this year has been judged by the Youth Department of the British Council of Churches to be motivated purely by political aims. The Council accordingly has warned members of youth groups against taking part in the celebration, despite the fact that the invitation states that « the idea of the Festival is to promote tolerance, understanding, and friendship among young people of all countries ».

In a statement issued early in March, the British Council of Churches observes: « Those who have attended previous Festivals (from Prague, 1947, to Warsaw, 1956) were left in no doubt as to the political purpose motivating these gatherings. It is clear from evidence already published that great efforts are being made on this occasion to keep politics in the background in order to obtain the largest possible participation of non-communist organisations and individuals. Special efforts are being made to secure the attendance of Christian youth organisations.

« Nevertheless, the underlying motive remains the same — the establishment by all possible means of world Communism. There is no doubt that those who go to Moscow, especially those who are politically naive or uncommitted, will be given an impression of the Soviet Union by their Communist hosts which will make them particularly susceptible to Communist propaganda on returning to their own countries.

« It is the considered judgment of the Youth Department of the British Council of Churches, after full and careful discussion, that it would be unwise and would serve no constructive purpose for any Christian youth organisations to send representatives to the 1957 Festival ».

The admonition of the Council was particularly apropos in

England where several prominent student groups at Oxford, Cambridge, and other institutions have already planned to send delegates to Moscow. According to the invitation sent to England, more than 30,000 young people from some 100 countries are expected to attend the Festival.

In consideration of the interest aroused in the venture among various groups of young Christians — particularly with the idea of establishing contact with other Christians behind the Iron Curtain — officials of the World Council of Churches are currently planning three international conferences for Christian youth. (*C. E. Newspaper*)

* * *

GERMANY

New Bishop of Berlin Acknowledges Co-operation of Evangelicals

In his first radio discourse to the Catholics of his diocese, the new bishop of Berlin, His Excellency, Msgr. Julius Döpfner took as his theme: « Let us pray to Christ on the Cross: without God man would not be able to live in a truly human manner ». In the course of his address, Bishop Döpfner publicly thanked the Evangelical Church for allowing Catholics to use Protestant churches for their religious services in those areas where Catholics have no churches of their own. « Christians », said the Bishop, « must close their ranks as they did during the period of National Socialism in order to combat anti-Christian forces ».

In the discourse which he delivered at his installation, the new Bishop also took occasion to emphasize the importance of collaboration between Catholics and Lutherans in Germany. Referring to the offer made to Catholics to avail themselves of Protestant church buildings, Bishop Döpfner declared: « This gesture demonstrates that we are ready to help one another in the common struggle against those forces which in any way pose as a threat to the Christian way of life and to sustain each other in the defence against injustice and violence ». (*ANSA*)

Berlin Protestants Supported in Vatican Radio Broadcast

While the Unity Octave was in progress in January, a Vatican Radio news commentary paid homage to the Protestants of East Berlin who are standing closely united with Catholics of that sector in confronting the common danger of communism.

« Our separated brothers », the commentator declared, « are at present undergoing severe ordeals, and we shall remember them in our prayers during the Chair of Unity Octave. With a new form of income tax, which hits the entire Protestant community in an abusive manner, East German communists have extorted about $ 2,400,000 from the Evangelical Church ».

The broadcast related the losses that both Catholics and Protestants are suffering. It listed the closing of hospitals and schools as one of the most painful results of economic pressure by the Red-dominated government. « Berlin and Berliners, isolated in the red sea of communism, deserve our sympathy and our prayers », the broadcast concluded. (*NC*).

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THE SOVIET UNION

Orthodox Church Calls on Exiles to Return

According to a *New York Times* dispatch from Moscow, the Russian Orthodox Church has joined the Soviet Union's campaign to invite back to their homeland « tens of thousands » of Russians who fled from the country during World War II. At a meeting of the Church's Synod on March 14, Orthodox leaders gave their approval to an appeal « to all believers » to return to the Soviet Union and to the « fold of the mother church ». The appeal likewise urged that the division between Soviet and non-Soviet adherents of the Orthodox faith be healed.

Seeking to allay any fears that the persecution once undergone by the exiles might be renewed, the Synod stated: « Decades have passed, and circumstances have changed ».

The appeal of the Russian Church, which appeared in the government newspaper *Izvestia,* declared that « tens of thousands of the Orthodox who abandoned their homeland for various motives in World War II and now live outside their country » undoubtedly wish to return.

Observers point out, however, that the large numbers of Soviet citizens who fled abroad during and immediately after the war have been a constant source of embarassment for the Soviet Government. The official explanation given is that these expatriates were misled and are now being detained against their will.

* * *

THE UNITED STATES

Visiting Benedictine Advocates Cultural Relations with Islam

French-born Father Denis Martin, prior of the Benedictine Monastery at Tioumliline, Morocco, has recently visited the United States to acquaint Americans with the work being done by his community to improve relations between Christians and Moslems. The monastery, which is situated in the Middle Atlas Mountains of Morocco, is a center of culture where the traditions of Islam and Christianity are compared and studied with patience, tolerance, and a deep desire for knowledge.

In an interview given in Washington, Dom Denis said the community at Tioumliline considers it as important that Christians visiting the monastery learn something of the wisdom and culture of Islam as that the Moslems of the surrounding country learn from the Christian visitors.

The monastery of Christ the King at Tioumliline was founded five years ago by a small group of Benedictine monks from the Abbey of En-Calcat in France to provide Morocco with a center of contemplative life.

The motive of Dom Denis's visit to the United States was to interest people in going to Morocco and staying at the monastery, not as monks, but as helpers. These, he said, would be able to give the many Moslem visitors to the monastery an idea of Christian culture. And there was hope that in turn the Moslems would help broaden the horizons and knowledge of the Christians, by sharing with them the rich culture of Islam. The helpers could either work with the monks in conducting the small school they have, or else aid in the lectures and conferences at the monastery.

It is the aim of Dom Denis to have frequent conferences and discussions at Tioumliline, centering about similarities and differences in Christian and Moslem culture, and attended by both Christians and Moslems alike.

During the summer of 1956 the monastery held an international meeting of students from Morocco and thirteen different countries. Its prior said that another purpose of his visit to the United States was to interest young Americans in the meeting planned for August of this year.

In a letter of welcome to Dom Denis, a State Department official and a student of North African affairs stated: « I need hardly say

that the Department's representatives in Morocco have made clear the high esteem in which they hold the monastery's work. It seems to us here that your school ... is aiding immeasurably in effecting that *rapprochement* between faiths and between peoples which is so essential to the well-being of men everywhere ».

At the conclusion of his interview, Dom Denis said that in his opinion the United States can do much to increase the effectiveness of Morocco as the « hyphen between Islam and the Christian world » by sending the lecturers and young people who by their contacts with young Moslems could pave the way for greater understanding. (*NC*)

Completion of Index to Summa Theologica

A complete index to the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas, after many months of preparation, is now ready for distribution by the Catholic University Press at Washington, D. C.

The index was prepared by Dr. Roy J. Deferrari, secretary general of Catholic University, and by Sister Mary Inviolate of the Sisters of Divine Providence. The volume contains 400 pages, and is the first complete work of its kind. (*B. Pilot*)

* * *

IRAQ

Detroit Pastor Named Bishop of Iraq Diocese

Father Thomas Reis, pastor of the Mother of God Church of the Chaldean Rite in Detroit, Michigan, has recently been named Bishop of Zakho in Iraq.

The new bishop, who is 59 years of age, was born in Amadiyab, Iraq. He was ordained in 1923 after attending the Syro-Chaldean Seminary and the Patriarchal Chaldean Seminary at Mosul, where he later served as rector. He had been pastor of severals parishes in Iraq before going to Detroit in 1951.

* * *

PAKISTAN

Nation Counts 270,000 *Catholics*

According to Pakistan's first Catholic Directory, Catholics in that nation numbered 268,655 at the end of 1956. Thus, they form

but a very small part of the total Pakistan population of 76,000,000 which is officially more than 85 per cent Moslem.

The Directory figures indicate that the Church in Pakistan, despite a continuous history of some 400 years, has touched only a fragment of the large Moslem population of that country.

Compiled by the Apostolic Internunciature at Karachi, the publication listed the Catholic segment as being divided into eight sees under two ecclesiastical provinces — the Archdiocese of Karachi for West Pakistan and the Archdiocese of Dacca for the country's eastern area.

The Karachi see is headed by by a Dutch Franciscan, Archbishop James Van Miltenberg, O. F. M., who also serves as chargé d'affairs of the papal internunciature.

Diplomatic relations between Pakistan and the Holy See were established in 1951 when the apostolic delegation at Karachi was raised to a higher rank. Pakistan is represented at the Vatican by a minister, Shahid Suhrawardy who possesses the rank of envoy extraordinary. (*Fides*)

* * *

CHINA

Restrictive Measures against the Church still in Force

A missionary news agency in Rome has reported that not a single Catholic bishop in Communist China is « entirely free to carry out the functions of his office and to communicate with the Holy See ». According to International Fides Service « hundreds of priests are in prison » there, but that this is not the case for all the bishops.

The latest Chinese bishop known to have been arrested is Bishop Anthony Yang, O. F. M. of Yutze, in the Shansi province. His arrest was reported from Hong Kong in mid-January.

The Fides Service reveals that the total number of foreign missionaries in China has been reduced from 5,916 in 1948 to 23 at the present time. Seven of the latter, all priests, are being held in prison.

* * *

BELGIAN CONGO

Decided Increase in Number of Catholics

Statistics lately released by the Apostolic Delegation at Leopoldville, Belgian Congo, show that in the latter area and in the Mandate of Ruanda-Urundi to the east, the number of native Catholics had grown to a figure of 5,383,154 at the end of 1956. The total for the previous year had been 4,990,198. The report of the Delegation also listed 669 mission stations, an increase of 43. These stations are staffed by 2,486 European missionaries and 466 native assistants.

(*Ansa*)

BOOK REVIEWS

HUGH ROSS WILLIAMSON. *The Walled Garden* (An Autobiography). London: Michael Joseph, 1956, pp. 232.

If the ecumenical movement is to remain faithful to its original aims, it can have but two objectives, one of which prepares the way for the other: the first of these concerns the immediate present and consists in promoting good relations between Christians of differing confessions; and the second, as the ultimate ideal, is the re-establishment of Christian unity within the same faith. For Catholics this means the unity of all in the faith of Rome; and when they see their separated brethren seeking admission into the Catholic Church, they are interested in the itinerary followed by these forerunners as an example of what should one day be the way for all, or at least of a large number. In truth, the itineraries which experience reveals to us are rather numerous and varied. All of them are instructive.

One of the most recent of these is that of Mr. Hugh Ross Williamson, who has just published his autobiography, entitled *The Walled Garden.*

We may touch upon the first part of this volume but briefly, despite the fact that it is very interesting. The author ,who is a well-known journalist, gives here a lively account of his early life and the theological discussions which he had with his father; even at that age he tended in the direction of Catholic principles. After having collaborated with the Labour Party in Yorkshire and later becoming a member of it, Williamson felt that his vocation was to be a churchman. He accordingly entered the Church of England. At that time he regarded the Established Church as a part of the Catholic Church, as endowed with valid ordination, and as the only church capable of wresting England from Protestantism and incredulity. If he has now left that confession to enter the Roman Catholic Church, it is because he is convinced that Anglicanism, like Congregationalism, is Protestant.

How did this conviction come about? One may sum it up briefly by saying that the attitude of the Church of England vis-à-vis the question of the union of the churches in South India — an attitude which has varied, but made determinate by Convocations

in 1955 — was the sign which marked the turning point in his conception of Anglicanism. He had met Dr. William Temple, whom he esteemed greatly and whose progress in the direction of Catholic principles he notes. Above all, he knew Dom Gregory Dix, his director, a resolute opponent of the union of South India, who, had he been alive in 1955, might have caused the voting by Convocation to be quite otherwise. The author affirms that the Anglican episcopate carried on a silent warfare against the Anglo-Catholics, to the point where he himself was obliged to leave the parish of which he was vicar. Nevertheless, by dint of experience and further study, he became more and more convinced of the truth of Catholic principles.

In the debate on the Church of South India, Mr. Williams took sides with the Anglo-Catholics who opposed intercommunion with the new church and who were victorious at the Lambeth Conference of 1948. But the question was to come up for consideration in 1955; during the intervening period the bishops of the Church of England worked to influence opinion in favour of ' partial ' intercommunion, and they ultimately prevailed. Here is how Williamson states the case: On the fifth of July, 1955, Convocation recognized as valid those Orders received in a church which in an explicit manner and in its Constitution does not require of any of its members the assent to ' all the words and phrases ' of the *Credo* and which announced its intention of remaining always in communion with Nonconformists who reject the foundation of the doctrine of the Sacraments (p. 212). In the mind of the author this decision signified the end of the Church of England as he had known it. None the less, he decided to await the Convocation for the month of October in the event that the July decision might be annulled. In the meantime, he entered into correspondence on the subject with the Bishop of Exeter. When October came, Convocation gave its approval to the decree voted in July. For Williamson there was but one thing left to do: he asked to be received into the Church of Rome. What causes him wonderment now is his not having taken the step thirty-eight years sooner.

One can see from this account that if the position taken by their leaders towards the Church of South India seemed a happy solution to the majority of Anglicans principally because it contributed to the acceptance of the episcopacy by Nonconformists, yet on the other hand it also revealed to resolute Anglo-Catholics that the Church of England is far from holding to Catholic truths to the same degree in which they themselves accept them.

What, one may ask, is the significance of the bok's title: *The Walled Garden*? If you were to place a group of children on a very small island consisting of a garden surrounded by a wall, they would

play happily and be free from care; but once throw down the wall and the frightened children will crowd together to the center of the garden, as far away as possible from the roar of the waves. Mr. Williamson, by entering the Church of Rome, has chosen ' the walled garden '.

CHARLES BOYER, S. J.

FRANCIS CLARK, S. J., *Anglican Orders and Defect of Intention,* Longmans London 1956, price 25 shills.

As its title shows, this book is primarily concerned with the defect of intention alleged by Pope Leo XIII in his Bull *Apostolicae curae* as invaluable chapter on the defect of form, and since this defect is the more radical and is mentioned first in the Bull, I propose to give it also first place in this appreciation.

The chapter repeats and comments on the Pope's exposition of this defect. The argumentation of the Bull is briefly this. Sacraments, as sensible and efficacious signs of grace, must signify the grace they effect: the signification comes essentially from the form as determining the matter: in the Anglican Ordinal the forms, since they specifically mention neither the Orders being conferred nor their chief grace and powers (1), do not sufficiently signify the grace to be effected, nor does the setting in which they are placed remedy the defect: indeed the setting gives such a sinister meaning to the forms that even the names ' priest ', ' bishop ' found in the Preface and in certain places within the rite itself have lost their traditional, Catholic significance and mean something else: hence the Anglican rites must be judged incapable of conferring true Orders.

It is to be noted that in this argument the Pope, after enunciating the common principle about sacraments in general, lays down no others. He does not say that a sacramental form must indicate either the name of the Order being given or its chief grace and power: he only states that the Anglican forms do neither the one nor the other. He does not say that that defect can be made good by the setting: he affirms that it is not made good in the case of Anglican Orders. He also incidentally declares that the question of the validity of ordinations *per saltum* does not apply to Anglican bishops, but refrains from giving an opinion on the general principle of the validity of Orders so conferred.

The main reason adduced in the Bull to substantiate the assertion that the setting of the rites is also their condemnation is the

(1) It is to be noted that the Bull refers primarily to the forms as they were found in the Anglican Ordinal from Elizabeth's reign till 1662.

fact that the rites had been changed so as to eliminate every specific mention and every incidental allusion to sacrifice. The old *Pontifical* abounded in such; the new Ordinal has not even one. Yet the essential function of the priest (and a bishop is before all else a priest, having the ' plenitude of the priesthood ') is to offer sacrifice. The significant fact is, not so much that the Anglican rite differed from the contemporary Latin rite, as that it was a brand-new rite that had changed the contemporary Latin rite, changed it thoroughly and radically by the intentional elimination of all reference to the essential office of the priest, so that, even though here and there the titles ' priest ', ' bishops ' were retained, the thing meant by the words ' priest ', ' bishop ' was altered. The rite thus became unsuitable and unable to produce sacrificing priests, i. e. priests.

This understanding of the Bull answers, without further ado, many of the difficulties that Anglicans have moved against it. It is irrelevant to the argument of the Bull, whether e. g. some ancient ordinals do or do not specifically mention the Order being conferred or the chief grace and power; whether the allusion to the forgiveness of sins in the form for the 'priest ' and the reference to Timothy in that for a ' bishop ' in the Anglican rite indicate in some wise the order being conferred — the exclusion of sacrifice still remains; whether the Preface speaks of retaining the three Orders of the early Church — the inner essence has been lost; whether, in fine, there were true bishops among Parker's consecrators — if there were, they used an invalid rite. And, too, it should be noted that this defect of itself is sufficient to invalidate the Anglican Ordinal, irrespective of the further question of intention, which is the real theme of Fr. Clark's book.

On the defect of intention the Bull speaks as follows: ' Then with this intrinsic *defect of form* has been combined a *defect of intention* — of that intention which is equally necessary for the existence of a sacrament. Concerning the mind or intention, inasmuch as it is primarily something interior, the Church does not pass judgement: but in so far as it is externally manifested, she is bound to judge of it '.

What precisely is the intention referred to in the Bull? Many explanations have been put forward by various authors, and these Fr. Clark examines thoroughly to conclude, rightly, that the intention of which the Bull speaks is the interior intention of the ministers of the rite, and principally of the intention of the consecrators of Elizabeth's first Archbishop of Canterbury, Parker. No one, of course, can judge absolutely of the interior intention of another person; but everyone can, and often does, deduce what the interior intention of another's action was from the external concomitant

circumstances. The courts of law are called upon regularly to assess the guilt or innocence of an accused or the degree of his culpability precisely by deciding on his interior intention: that, I believe, is one of the things that distinguish manslaughter from murder. If a friend, normally by no means absent-minded, with whom I have had a tiff, looks me in the face as he passes me on the street and does not return my salute, I judge not without reason that he has deliberately ignored me. It is from analogous circumstances that the Bull concludes to the defect of intention. The rite employed in the first (and subsequent) ordinations of the Anglican Church after its reconstitution under Elizabeth were the rites elaborated in the reign of Edward VI, abrogated as ' not ordering in very deed ' in the time of Mary Tudor, rejected by all the Catholic spiritual peers when the Bill of Uniformity was being debated in Parliament in 1559, and reintroduced by Elizabeth who could find no bishop to sing her coronation Mass because she showed her disbelief in the Catholic doctrine of the Mass by refusing to allow the elevation of the Host. To us, all these events are ancient history, a topic for learned discussion. For the consecrators of Parker, as to Parker himself, they were fresh and living and fraught with meaning: only a year before they had, in fact, been questions of life and death. So when those men adopted the Edwardine Prayer Book, they knew exactly what that implied — their approval of it both for what it contained and for what it did not contain.

Even so, the thorny question of sacramental intention is not entirely solved. According to Catholic theology, it is not necessary that a minister of a sacrament should positively intend the end of the sacrament, provided he has the general intention to do what the Church does, i .e. what Christ instituted. Ignorance of that end does not vitiate his ministry, nor necessarily does an erroneous opinion about it, even if that erroneous opinion to some degree colours also his intention. The consecrators of Parker must be allowed to have had the general intention of doing what Christ instituted. At the same time, owing to their heretical opinions about the Mass and consequently about the nature of Orders, they did not intend to ordain Parker as a minister empowered to offer sacrifice, i. e. they did not intend to do what Christ in fact instituted; indeed one may say that they intended not to do what Christ instituted. But that was owing to their false notions of Orders, and who would say that, had they realised their theological error, they would still have persisted in their special intention and rejected the general intention?

This is a problem that is not peculiar to Orders, but is general for all the sacraments, and it has exercised Catholic theologians over

the centuries. Many have been the solutions proposed, which Fr. Clark examines in detail. The one that he favours is not of his own invention. It had been enunciated as early as 1636 by de Lugo, and after being advocated periodically by others and made the foundation of sundry ecclesiastical decisions, was fully developed by Gasparri, the leading canonist at the end of the last century and a member of the Commission on Anglican Orders; and since then it has been constantly applied especially in matrimonial cases. Fr. Clark calls it 'The Principle of Positive Exclusion', that is, where there are two positively willed, but mutually exclusive, intentions, they neutralise each other. In the case under discussion, Parker's consecrators, while having the general intention of conferring the sacrament of Orders, at the same time had a positive intention against something essential to the sacrament. It is this last point that the Bull affirms on the grounds of their external action in employing the new rite in the then historical circumstances, and concludes from it that the intention requisite for a valid sacrament was lacking.

This conclusion harmonises with common sense. No average person would willingly affirm that men who did not personally believe in a sacrificing priesthood and who carried on, or at least approved of, the persecution of 'massing priests' could, even by accident, have actually been producing 'massing priests' by their rites of which intention is an essential element. Common sense is not a theological argument, but it is never to be despised.

Fr. Clark's presentation of the complications of sacramental intention is clear, his style is simple and courteous, his conclusions convincing. Students, not only of the Anglican question, but also of sacramental theology in general will be grateful to him for this thoughtful study.

J. Gill, S. J.

Thomas Sartory, O. S. B., *Die katolische Kirche und die getrennten Christen* Kyrios-Verlag, Meitingen b. Augsburg.

The study of unionistic problems in our day is no longer the appanage of the clergy alone, for the laity is concerning itself more and more with questions relating to ecumenism. In this generous effort of collaboration, there is a need for the enlightenment and guidance of the *magisterium* of the Church.

With this end in view, it was desirable that someone should bring together the most important documents and texts dedicated to this problem by the Pope and representative members of the Catholic episcopate. This is now an accomplished fact. This com-

pilation by Fr. Sartory, whose intelligent and discreet activity in favor of the *Una Sancta* movement is well-known, will satisfy the most fastidious. With judicious care the author offers us a *florilegium* in which one will find the most signifcant declarations of the present Holy Father as well as episcopal directives. Passages from occasional discourses and writings furnish us with the thought of Cardinal Mercier and of other prominent members of the Catholic episcopate: Montini, Besson, Charriere, Buchberger, Stohr, and Döpfner. The ensemble of these citations gives us an exact idea of what must be considered to be the mind of the Church on this subject. This is why this unionistic anthology will be welcomed by all those who are anxious to be enlightened in their judgment and to follow the directives of the Hierarchy. Priests, as well as laymen who are desirous of collaborating in the work of reunion, will find this volume quite useful.

J. Cornélis, A. A.

THE UNITAS ASSOCIATION

is an international organization whose purpose it is to promote the spiritual union of men and especially of Christians. It was founded in Rome in 1945 *by a group of professors and writers, priests and laymen; and in June of that year received the blessing of Pope Pius XII. Fr. Charles Boyer, S. J., Dean of the Theological Faculty of the Gregorian University in Rome, was elected president of the Association and also serves as editor of its organ* Unitas *which appears in three editions: English, French, and Italian.*

Established at the center of Catholicity, the Unitas Association in carrying on its activities endeavours to follow with studied perfection the guidance of the Holy See. In striving to fulfill its purpose, it attempts to regulate its mission in accordance with the following principles:

To Catholics it recalls the benefits of the unity which they enjoy and the duty which is incumbent upon them to pray for those who are deprived of it. The Association invites the active co-operation of Catholics and exhorts them to keep ever before them the advice of Pope Pius XI: « This unity ought to be promoted less by discussion or other means than by the example of a saintly life ».

To its separated brethren of the Eastern Churches, it speaks of those long glorious centuries of union when the Doctors of the East illumined the universal Church and triumphed with their Latin brethren over the most subtle and distressing heresies. Unitas lays stress upon all that the separated East has preserved in common with Catholics: the priesthood, the Sacraments, the cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It makes clear the duty of union and strives to eliminate the barriers which prejudice and resentment have in the course of the centuries erected between Christians of the East and West.

To Anglicans and Protestants, Unitas reveals the genuine character of the Roman Catholic Church. Across the imperfections of men, it tries to make evident that spirit of fraternal affection and faithfulness to the teachings of Christ which is at the very heart of the Church's life and the manifestation of the Holy Spirit at work in her. Finally, Unitas keeps in close touch with the Ecumenical Movement, and endeavours to aid it in its quest for unity.

* * *

The Unitas Association has affiliated groups in Italy, France, Belgium, Canada, and Turkey. All that is necessary to form a group of this kind to further the aim of Christian unity is that a small number of persons of good will plan their organization, obtain the approval of their bishop, and then make their step known to the Central Committee of the Association in Rome.